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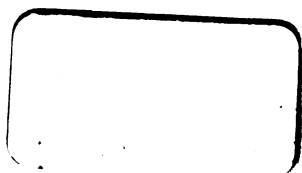
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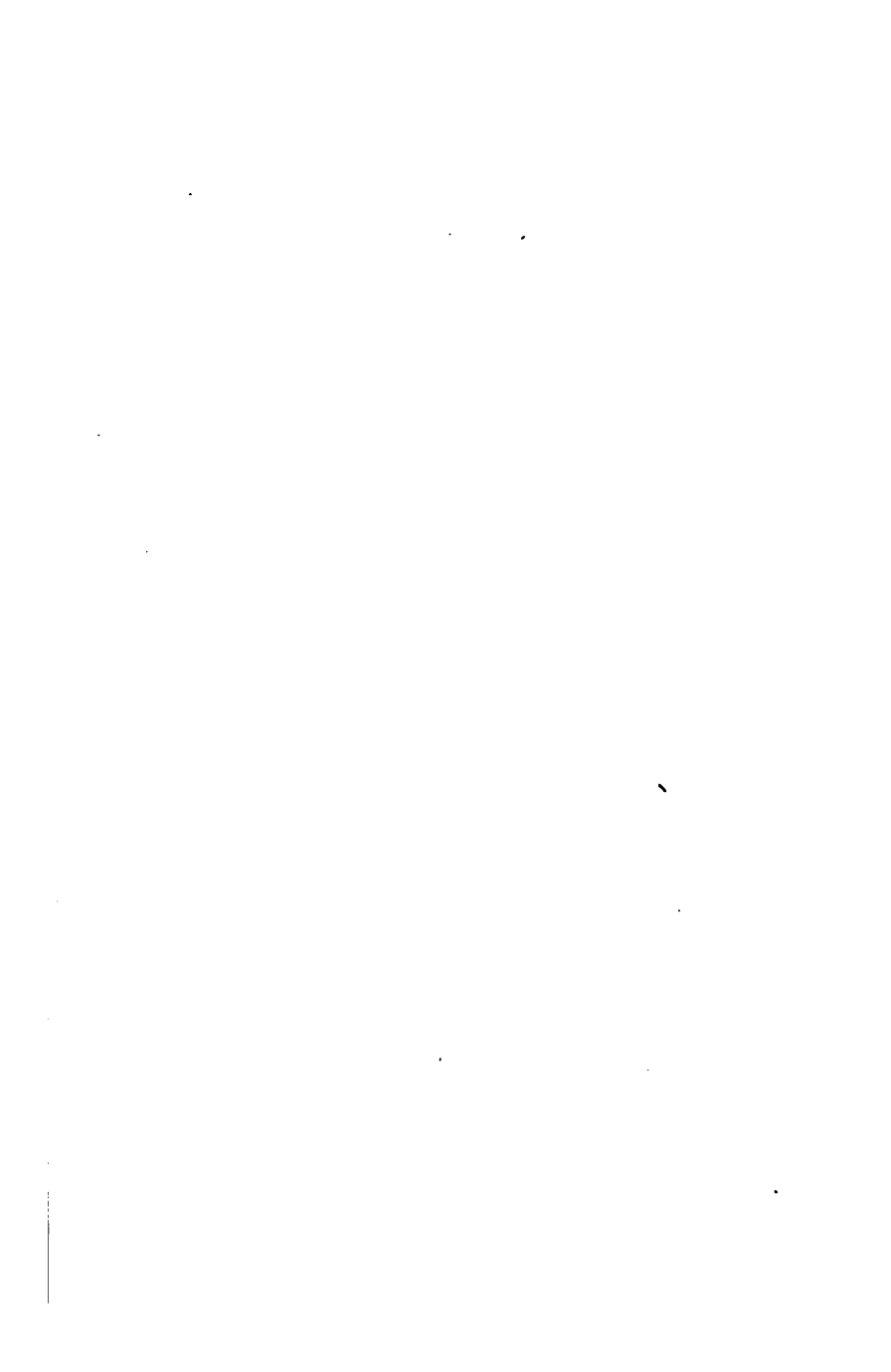


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LORD TEIGNMOUTH'S MEMOIRS
OF
SIR WILLIAM JONES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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From a Portrait by John W. Cooper Westström.

SIR WILLIAM
RESPONDENT

1771

OF LORD

SIR WILLIAM
ON A SPECIAL

OF THE

WILL

TO THE

H. W. PARKER, WEST STREET

MCCCXXXV

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WILLIAM L. G. B. 1810.

SIR WILLIAM L. G. B.

WILLIAM L. G. B. 1810.



MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE, WRITINGS,

AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

SIR WILLIAM JONES,

BY

THE RIGHT HON. LORD TEIGNMOUTH ;

WITH

THE LIFE OF LORD TEIGNMOUTH,

SELECTIONS FROM SIR WILLIAM JONES'S WORKS,

AND OCCASIONAL NOTES,

BY

THE REV. SAMUEL CHARLES WILKS, M. A.

VOL. II.

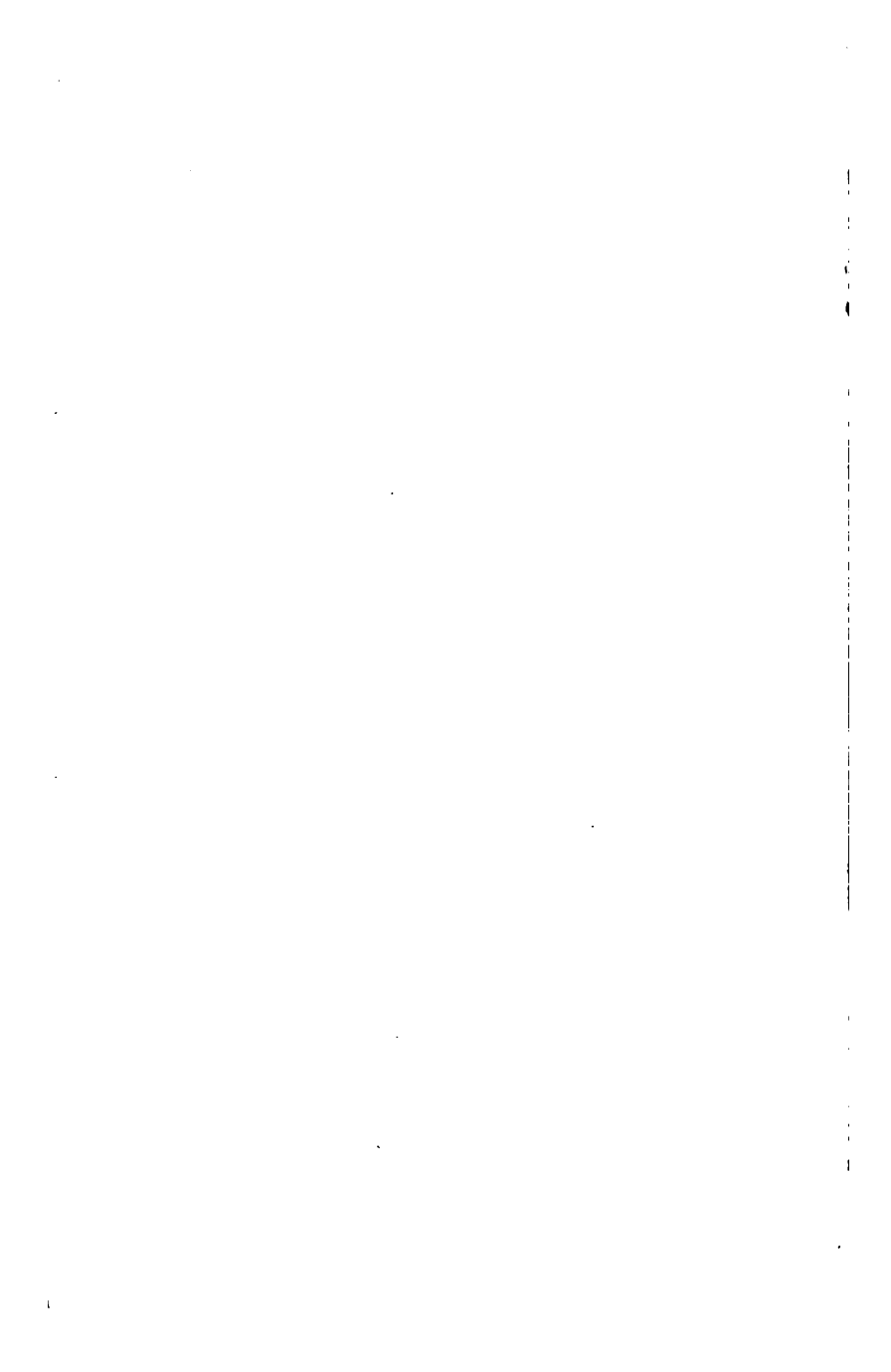
LONDON :

JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

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MEMOIRS OF SIR WILLIAM JONES.

CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1783—1784.

Appointed a judge in India ;—marries Miss Shipley ;—letters of congratulation from Lord Ashburton and Dr. Franklin ;—his Life of Nadir Shah, and his History of the Persian Language ;—projects various publications ;—embarks for India ;—his studies and pursuits during his voyage ;—touches at Madeira ;—defends the doctrine of our Lord's Divinity against Mohammedanism ;—lands at Calcutta ;—enters on his judicial functions ;—founds the Asiatic Society ;—Warren Hastings declines the Presidency of the Society, and Jones appointed ;—character, attainments, and policy of Hastings ;—other early members of the Asiatic Society ;—character of Mr. Chambers ;—correspondence, literary, professional, and miscellaneous, with Judge Hyde, Dr. Russel, and Mr. Chapman ;—travels in India to collect information ;—his health begins to fail.

THE period was now arrived, when Mr. Jones had the happiness to gain the accomplishment of his most anxious wishes. In March 1783, during the administration of Lord Shelburne, he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort-William at Bengal, on which occasion the honour of knighthood was conferred upon him ; and, in the April following, he married Anna Maria Shipley, the eldest daughter of the Bishop of St. Asaph. I have remarked the early impression made upon the affections of Sir William Jones by this lady, and the honourable determination which he formed upon that occasion ; and if I should have succeeded in impart-

ing to my readers any portion of that interest which I feel in his personal concerns, they will see him with pleasure receiving the rewards of principle and affection.

The Bishop of St. Asaph, of whose respectable character and high literary reputation it is unnecessary to remind the public, possessed too enlightened an understanding not to appreciate the early distinguished talents and virtues of Sir William Jones, and their friendship was cemented by an union of political principles, and the zealous admiration each felt for the constitution of their country. The Bishop, in the choice of a son-in-law, had every reason to indulge the pleasing hope that he had consulted, as far as human foresight can extend, the happiness of his beloved daughter; nor were his expectations disappointed.

For his appointment to India, Mr. Jones was indebted to the friendship of Lord Ashburton:* in October 1782, I find a letter from his Lordship to Mr. Jones, with the following words: "You will give me credit for not being indifferent about the important stake still left in India, or your particular interest in it, in which I consider that of the public so materially involved." The intelligence of his success was communicated to Mr. Jones, in the following letter of congratulation; to which I subjoin one from the celebrated Franklin on the same occasion.

MY DEAR SIR,

March 3, 1783.

It is with little less satisfaction to myself than it can give you, that I send you the inclosed; and I do assure you there are few events, in which I could have

* [Strong objections, however, were made to it: Lord Chief-justice Kenyon, among others, protested earnestly against sending out to India, in a high official station, the writer of the "Dialogue." Others, perhaps, thought that the farther he was away the better.—S. C. W.]

felt so sensible a mortification, as in that of your finally missing this favourite object. The weather suggests to me as no slight topic of congratulation, your being relieved 'from such a journey and under such circumstances, as your last favour intimates you had in contemplation for Wednesday ; but when I consider this appointment as securing to you at once, two of the first objects of human pursuit, those of ambition and love, I feel it a subject of very serious and cordial congratulation, which I desire you to accept, and to convey accordingly. I am, with every good wish, dear Sir, your faithful humble servant,

ASHBURTON.

DEAR FRIEND,

Passy, March 17, 1783.

I duly received your obliging letter of November 15th. You will have since learnt how much I was then and have been continually engaged in public affairs, and your goodness will excuse my not having answered it sooner. You announced your intended marriage with my much respected friend, Miss Anna Maria, which I assure you gave me great pleasure, as I cannot conceive a match more likely to be happy, from the amiable qualities each of you possess so plentifully. You mention its taking place as soon as a prudent attention to worldly interests would permit. I just now learn from Mr. Hodgson, that you are appointed to an honourable and profitable place in the Indies ; so I expect now soon to hear of the wedding, and to receive the profile. With the good bishop's permission, I will join my blessing with his ; adding my wishes that you may return from that corrupting country, with a great deal of money honestly acquired, and with full as much virtue as you carry out with you.

The engraving of my medal, which you know was projected before the peace, is but just finished. None

are yet struck in hard metal, but will in a few days. In the mean time, having this good opportunity by Mr. Penn, I send you one of the *épreuves*. You will see that I have profited by some of your ideas, and adopted the mottos you were so kind as to furnish.

I am at present quite recovered from my late illness, and flatter myself that I may in the ensuing summer be able to undertake a trip to England, for the pleasure of seeing once more my dear friends there, among whom the bishop and his family stand foremost in my estimation and affection.

I thank you for your good wishes respecting me. Mine for your welfare and prosperity are not less earnest and sincere; being with great truth, dear Sir, your affectionate friend, and most obedient servant,

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

* * * * *

I have mentioned the literary productions of Sir William Jones in the order in which they were published. I observe, however, two compositions which had escaped my attention; an abridged History of the Life of Nadir Shah, in English, and a History of the Persian Language, intended to be prefixed to the first edition of his Persian Grammar.*

A long list might be formed of works which he me-

* The reader will peruse with pleasure the following lines from the Arabic, written by Sir William Jones, in 1783, and addressed to Lady Jones:

While sad suspense and chill delay
Bereave my wounded soul of rest,
New hopes, new fears, from day to day,
By turns assail my lab'ring breast.

My heart, which ardent love consumes,
Throbs with each agonizing thought;
So flutters with entangled plumes,
The lark in wily meshes caught.

ditated at different periods. He had projected a Treatise on Maritime Contracts; and with a view to the completion of this work, he commissioned a friend to purchase for him the Collections of Heineccius, containing the Dissertations of Stypman and Kerrick, with any other works that could be procured on the same subject. It was also his intention to republish Lyttleton's Treatise on Tenures, from the first edition of 1482, with a new translation, explanatory notes, and a commentary; and to prefix an Introductory Discourse on the Laws of England. He had made a considerable progress towards the completion of this work, which still exists, but not in a sufficient degree of advancement for publication.

I have remarked the extraordinary avidity with which he availed himself of every opportunity to acquire knowledge: but I have omitted to mention his attendance during a course of anatomical lectures, by the celebrated Hunter; and amongst other sciences which he diligently and successfully cultivated, I have still to mention the Mathematics, in which he had advanced so far, as to read and understand Newton's Principia.

The review of the various acquisitions of Sir William Jones in science and literature will be introduced in another place; and having brought to a close that portion of his life which was passed in England, I must now prepare the reader to transport himself with him to Hindustan.

There she, with unavailing strain,
Pours through the night her warbled grief:
The gloom retires, but not her pain;
The dawn appears, but not relief.

Two younglings wait the parent bird,
Their thrilling sorrows to appease:
She comes—ah! no: the sound they heard
Was but a whisper of the breeze.

Sir William Jones embarked for India in the Crocodile frigate; and in April 1783, left his native country, to which he was never to return, with the unavailing regret and affectionate wishes of his numerous friends and admirers.

As to himself, the melancholy impressions which he could not but feel on such an occasion were alleviated by various considerations. The expectations of five years were now accomplished in the attainment of his wishes; he anticipated the utility of his official labours to the public, and the occupation so peculiarly delightful to him, of investigating unexplored mines of literature. Sir William Jones was now in his thirty-seventh year, in the full vigour of his faculties, and he looked forward with ardour to the pleasures and advantages arising from his situation in India, without any apprehension that the climate of that country would prove hostile to his constitution. A difference of opinion on great political questions, without diminishing his regard for his friends, had narrowed his habits of intercourse with some whom he sincerely esteemed, and he felt therefore the less regret in quitting those whose principles he wished to approve, but from whom an adherence to his own frequently compelled him to dissent. He reflected with pleasure on the independency of his station, that the line of duty which it prescribed was straight and defined, and in leaving his native country, for which he retained the warmest affection, he was not sorry to abandon all political cares and discussions. But his greatest consolation and enjoyment were derived from the society of Lady Jones.

To those who are destitute of internal resources, whose habits have led them to seek for amusement in the miscellaneous occurrences and topics of the day only, a sea-

voyage is a period of fatigue, languor, and anxiety. To Sir William Jones every new scene was interesting, and his mind, exercised by incessant study and reflection, possessed an inexhaustible fund of subjects, which he could at pleasure select and apply to the purposes of recreation and improvement; but his application during his voyage was more particularly directed to those studies,* by which he was to enlarge the requisite qua-

* The following memorandum was written by Sir William Jones during his voyage :

Objects of Enquiry during my residence in Asia.

1. The Laws of the Hindus and Mohammedans.
 2. The History of the *Ancient* World.
 3. Proofs and Illustrations of Scripture.
 4. Traditions concerning the Deluge, &c.
 5. Modern Politics and Geography of Hindustan.
 6. Best mode of governing Bengal.
 7. Arithmetic and Geometry, and mixed Sciences of the Asiatics.
 8. Medicine, Chemistry, Surgery, and Anatomy of the Indians.
 9. Natural Productions of India.
 10. Poetry, Rhetoric, and Morality of Asia.
 11. Music of the Eastern Nations.
 12. The Shi-King, or 300 Chinese Odes.
 13. The best accounts of Tibet and Cashmir.
 14. Trade, Manufactures, Agriculture, and Commerce of India.
 15. Mogul Constitution, contained in the *Defteri Alemghiri*, and *Ayein Acbari*.
 16. Mahratta Constitution.
- To print and publish the *Gospel* of St. Luke in Arabic.
 To publish Law Tracts in Persian or Arabic.
 To print and publish the *Psalms* of David in Persian verse.

To compose, if God grant me life,

1. Elements of the Laws of England.

Model—The Essay on Bailment—Aristotle.

2. The History of the *American* War.

Model—Thucydides and Polybius.

3. Britain Discovered, an Heroic Poem on the Constitution of England. Machinery. Hindu Gods.

Model—Homer.

4. Speeches

fications for discharging the duties of his public station with satisfaction to himself and benefit to the community.

The following short letter to Lord Ashburton, written a few weeks after his embarkation, may not be unacceptable to the reader :

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO LORD ASHBURTON.

April 27, 1783.

Your kind letter found me on board the *Crocodile*: I should have been very unhappy had it missed me, since I have long habituated myself to set the highest value on every word you speak, and every line you write. Of the two inclosed letters to our friends, Impey and Chambers, I will take the greatest care, and will punctually follow your directions as to the first of them. My departure was sudden indeed; but the Admiralty were so anxious for the sailing of this frigate, and their orders were so peremptory, that it was impossible to wait for anything but a breeze. Our voyage has hitherto been tolerably pleasant, and, since we left the Channel, very quick. We begin to see albigores about the ship, and to perceive an agreeable change of climate. Our days, though short, give me ample time for study, recreation, and exercise; but my joy and delight proceed from the surprising health and spirits of Anna Maria, who joins me in affectionate remembrance to Lady Ashburton. As to you, my dear Lord, we consider you as the spring and fountain

4. Speeches, Political and Forensic.

Model—Demosthenes.

5. Dialogues, Philosophical and Historical.

Model—Plato.

6. Letters.

Model—Demosthenes and Plato.

12th JULY, 1783.—*Crocodile Frigate*.

of our happiness, as the author and parent, (a Roman would have added, what the coldness of our northern language would hardly admit,) the *god* of our fortunes. It is possible, indeed, that by incessant labour and irksome attendance at the bar, I might in due time have attained all that my very limited ambition could aspire to; but in no other station than that which I owe to your friendship, could I have gratified at once my boundless curiosity concerning the people of the East, continued the exercise of my profession, in which I sincerely delight, and enjoyed at the same time the comforts of domestic life. The grand jury of Denbighshire have found, I understand, the bill against the Dean of St. Asaph, for publishing my Dialogue; but as an indictment for a theoretical essay on government was, I believe, never before known, I have no apprehension for the consequences. As to the doctrines in the tract, though I shall certainly not preach them to the Indians, who must and will be governed by absolute power, yet I shall go through life with a persuasion, that they are just and rational, that substantial freedom is both the daughter and parent of virtue, and that virtue is the only source of public and private felicity.

Farewell.

* * * *

In the course of the voyage he stopped at Madeira, and in ten additional weeks of prosperous sailing from the rugged islands of Cape Verd, arrived at Hinzuan, or Joanna. Of this island, where he remained a few days only, he has published an interesting and amusing description. He expatiates with rapture on his approach to it, delineates with the skill of an artist the beauties of the scenery, and sketches with the discriminating pen of a philosopher the characters and manners of the unpolished but hospitable natives. The novelty of the scene was attractive, and its impression upon his mind

is strongly marked by the following just and elegant reflection, which in substance is more than once repeated in his writings:—"If life were not too short for the complete discharge of all our respective duties, public and private, and for the acquisition even of necessary knowledge in any degree of perfection, with how much pleasure and improvement might a great part of it be spent in admiring the beauties of this wonderful orb, and contemplating the nature of man in all its varieties!"*

But it would be injustice to his memory, to pass over without particular notice the sensible and dignified rebuke with which he repelled the rude attack of Musulman bigotry on the divinity of our Saviour. During a visit which he made to a native of the island, a Coran was produced for his inspection, and his attention was pointedly directed to a passage in a commentary, accusing the Christians of blasphemy, in calling our Saviour the Son of God. "The commentator" (he replied) "was much to blame for passing so indiscriminate and hasty a censure; the title which gave your legislator, and which gives you such offence, was often applied in *Judea* by a bold figure, agreeably to the *Hebrew* idiom, though unusual in *Arabic*, to *angels*, to *holy men*, and even to *all mankind*, who are commanded to call God their father; and in this large sense, the Apostle to the Romans calls the elect the *children* of God, and the Messiah the *first-born among many brethren*; but the words *only-begotten* are applied transcendently and incomparably to Him alone; and as for me, who believe the Scriptures which you also profess to believe, though you assert without proof that we have altered them, I cannot refuse Him an appellation, though far surpassing our reason, by which He is distinguished in the Gospel; and the believers in Moham-

* Sir William Jones's Works, vol. iv. p. 488.

med, who expressly names Him the Messiah, and pronounces Him to have been born of a virgin (which alone might fully justify the phrase condemned by this author), are themselves condemnable, for cavilling at words, when they cannot object to the substance of our faith, consistently with their own."*

This quotation affords a decisive proof of the belief of Sir William Jones in the sublime doctrines of the Christian religion. Had he been an infidel, he would have smiled at the scoffs of Mussulman bigotry; and had he been indifferent to his faith, he would have been silent on an occasion where he could expect neither candour nor concessions from his antagonists. Indeed he was well aware, that a religious dispute with those zealots would have been fruitless and unseasonable, and might have been dangerous; but as it was inconsistent with his principles to disavow or conceal what he firmly believed and professed, he could not suffer the attack to pass without reprehension, and he grounded it on premises which his opponents could not dispute, nor did they venture to answer.†

From Hinzuan to the Ganges, nothing material occurred; and he landed at Calcutta, in September 1783. His reputation had preceded his arrival, which was anxiously expected; and he had the happiness to find

* Sir William Jones's Works, vol. i. p. 485.

† [Neither Sir William's reasoning, nor Lord Teignmouth's apology for it, is quite satisfactory. A Christian ought never to be ashamed or afraid to ground his statements on infinitely higher authority than "an opponent's premises." The want of firmness in this respect has greatly impeded the progress of the Gospel in heathen lands. Did Henry Martyn find his appeals to the inspired Scriptures "fruitless" or "unseasonable"? and as to their being "dangerous," a Christian must be willing to incur danger in his Master's cause, were it to the extremity of a fiery furnace, or a lion's den.—S. C. W.]

that his appointment had diffused a general satisfaction, which his presence now rendered complete. The students of the Oriental languages were eager to welcome a scholar, whose erudition in that branch of literature was unrivalled, and whose labours and genius had assisted their progress; while the public rejoiced in the possession of a magistrate, whose probity and independence were no less acknowledged than his abilities.

With what rapture he himself contemplated his new situation, may be more easily conceived than described. As a magistrate of the Supreme Court of Judicature, he had now that opportunity, which he ever ardently desired, of devoting his talents to the service of his native country, and for promoting the happiness of the community in which he resided; while the history, antiquities, natural productions, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia, opened an extensive and almost boundless field to his enquiries. He was now placed amidst a people whose pretensions to antiquity had hitherto eluded research, and whose manners, religion, and customs, still retained the same characteristic peculiarities by which they were originally distinguished. Time, who spreads the veil of oblivion over the opinions and works of mankind, who annihilates empires and the records of their existence, had spared the doctrines and language of the followers of Brama, and, amidst the ravages of conquest and oppressions of tyranny, seemed to protect with parental care some the earliest monuments of his reign. The Hindoos in fact presented to the observation of Sir William Jones a living picture of antiquity: and although the colouring might be somewhat faded and obscured, the lineaments of the original character were still discernible by the most superficial observer, whilst he remarked them with discrimination and rapture.

In December 1783 he entered upon his judicial functions, and at the opening of the sessions delivered his first charge to the grand jury. The public had formed a high estimate of his oratorical powers, nor were they disappointed. His address was elegant, concise, and appropriate ; the exposition of his sentiments and principles was equally manly and conciliatory, and calculated to inspire general satisfaction, as the known sincerity of his character was a test of his adherence to his professions. In glancing at dissensions which, at no remote period, had unfortunately prevailed between the supreme executive and judicial powers in Bengal, he showed that they might and ought to be avoided,—that the functions of both were distinct, and could be exercised without danger of collision, in promoting what should be the object of both,—the public good.

In the intervals of leisure from his professional duties, he directed his attention to scientific objects : he soon saw that the field of research in India was of an extent to baffle the industry of any individual ; and that, whatever success might attend his own indefatigable labours, it could only be explored by the united efforts of many. With these ideas, he devised the institution of a society in Calcutta, on the plan of those established in the principal cities of Europe, as best calculated to excite and facilitate the enquiries of the ingenious, as affording the means of preserving the numerous little tracts and essays which otherwise would be lost to the public, and of concentrating all the valuable knowledge which might be obtained in Asia. The suggestion was received with the greatest satisfaction by several gentlemen to whom he communicated it, and the members of the new association assembled for the first time in January 1784.

The repetition of a narrative which has already

appeared in several publications* may be deemed superfluous ; but a detail of the circumstances attending the formation of an institution, of which Sir William Jones was not only the founder, but the brightest ornament, cannot with propriety be omitted in the Memoirs of his Life.

It had been resolved to follow, as nearly as possible, the plan of the Royal Society in London, of which the King is the patron ; and at the first meeting it was therefore agreed to address the Governor-general and Council of Bengal, explaining the objects of the society, and soliciting the honour of their patronage, which was granted in the most flattering terms of approbation. The members next proceeded to the nomination of a president ; and as Warren Hastings, Esquire, then Governor-general of India, had distinguished himself as the first liberal promoter of useful knowledge in Bengal, and especially as the great encourager of Persian and Sanscrit literature, they deemed him entitled to every mark of distinction which it was in their power to offer : and although they were aware that the numerous and important duties of his public station might prove an insurmountable objection to his acquiescence, they nevertheless determined to solicit his acceptance of the honorary title of President of the society, as a just tribute of respect, which the occasion seemed to demand, and which could not have been omitted, without an appearance of inattention to his distinguished merit.

The application was received with the acknowledgment due to the motives which dictated it : but Mr. Hastings, for the reasons which had been anticipated, declined his acceptance of the proffered title, and “ begged leave to

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. Introduction.—The account is omitted in the Works of Sir William Jones.

resign his pretensions to the gentleman whose genius had planned the institution, and was most capable of conducting it, to the attainment of the great and splendid purposes of its formation." Sir William Jones, upon the receipt of this answer, was immediately and unanimously requested to accept the presidency of the society. On this occasion he addressed the following letter to Mr. Hastings :

MY DEAR SIR,

Independently of my general presumption that whatever you determine is right, I cannot but admit the solidity of the reasons which induce you to decline that precedence, to which, if our society were in its full vigour instead of being in its cradle, you would have a title paramount to all, who have been, are, or will be, in this country. Every part of your letter (except that which your kind indulgence makes so honourable to me) carries with it the clearest conviction. Your first reason (namely, an unwillingness to accept an honorary trust, and want of leisure for one that may require an active part) must appear satisfactory to all. I trust you will consider our act as proceeding solely from our anxiety to give you that distinction which justice obliged us to give. As to myself, I could never have been satisfied, if, in traversing the sea of knowledge, I had fallen in with a ship of your rate and station, without striking my flag. One thing more, my dear Sir, I must assure you of,—that in whatever manner your objections had been stated, I should have thought them just and wise ; and if it were not for the pleasure which your friendly communication of them has given me, I should repent of the trouble which our intended homage has occasioned.

I return Mr. Turner's letters, with many thanks for

the entertainment which Lady J. and myself have received from them. I promise myself much delight and instruction from his conversation, and hope that when he shall think proper to communicate a relation of his travels,* he will prefer our society to that of London. I will pay my respects to you in the evening, and am concerned, from a selfish motive, that the place where I now write will so soon lose one of its greatest advantages. Believe me to be, with unfeigned regard, dear Sir,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

WILLIAM JONES.

* * * * *

To this public and private record of the merit of Mr. Hastings, in promoting and encouraging the pursuits of literature in Asia, the addition of any further testimony must be superfluous; yet I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of stating briefly the grounds of his claims to that distinction which excited the acknowledgments and prompted the solicitation of the society.

Mr. Hastings entered into the service of the East India Company with all the advantages of a regular classical education, and with a mind strongly impressed with the pleasures of literature. The common dialects of Bengal, after his arrival in that country, soon became familiar to him; and at a period when the use and importance of the Persian language were scarcely suspected, and when the want of that grammatical and philological assistance which has facilitated the labours of suc-

* This relation was published in 1800, under the title of "An Account of an Embassy to the Court of Teshoo Lama in Tibet," &c. by Captain Samuel Turner. It is exceedingly curious and interesting. The author, whose amiable manners and good qualities had endeared him to his friends, was seized with an apoplexy as he was walking the streets of London, and died within two days.

ceeding students rendered the attainment of it a task of peculiar difficulty, he acquired a proficiency in it. His success not only contributed to make known the advantages of the acquisition, but proved an inducement to others to follow his example; and the general knowledge of the Persian language which has been since attained by the servants of the East India Company, has conspired to produce political effects of the greatest national importance, by promoting and accelerating the improvements which have taken place in the system of internal administration in Bengal.

If Mr. Hastings cannot claim the merit of having himself explored the mine of Sanscrit literature, he is eminently entitled to the praise of having invited and liberally encouraged the researches of others. But he has a claim to commendations of a higher nature; for a conduct no less favourable to the cause of literature, than to the advancement of the British influence in India, by removing that reserve and distrust in the professors of the Braminical faith, which had taught them to view with suspicion all attempts to investigate their code, and to apprehend the infringement of its ordinances in our political rule. The importance of his success will be readily acknowledged by those whose observation qualifies them to form a due estimate of it; and to those who have not had the advantages of local experience, the communication of my own may not be unsatisfactory.

The spirit of the Mohammedan religion is adverse to every appearance of idolatry, and the conquest of Hindustan by the Mussulmans was prosecuted with the zeal of a religious crusade. The rage of proselytism was united with the ambition of dominion, and the subversion of the Hindu superstition was always considered a

religious obligation, the discharge of which might indeed be suspended by political considerations, but could never be renounced: and, notwithstanding occasional marks of toleration in some of the emperors of Hindustan or their viceroys, their Hindu subjects were ever beheld by them in the contemptuous light of infidels and idolaters. They were of course naturally disposed to apprehend the effects of a similar bigotry and intolerance in their European governors, so widely discriminated from themselves in manners, language, and religion. The Bramins, too, (who had the feelings common to the bulk of the people,) deemed themselves precluded by laws, in their opinion of sacred and eternal obligation, from any development of their secret doctrines to a race of people who could only be ranked in the lowest of the four classes of mankind, and to whom, with little exception, their secrecy and reserve had hitherto proved impenetrable. To surmount these obstacles, to subdue the jealousy and prejudices of the Bramins, and to diminish the apprehensions of the people at large, required a conduct regulated by the most liberal and equitable principles, and the influence of personal intercourse and conciliation. The compilation of a code of laws by Pundits convened by the invitation of Mr. Hastings, the Persian version of it made under their immediate inspection, and the translation of the Bagvhat Geeta, a work containing all the grand mysteries of the Braminical faith, are incontrovertible proofs of the success of his efforts to inspire confidence in minds where distrust was habitual; while a variety of useful publications, undertaken at his suggestion, demonstrate the beneficial effects of his patronage and encouragement of Oriental literature.

Amongst the original members of the society who subscribed the address to the Governor-general and

Council, proposing the institution, will be found the names of several who have distinguished themselves by their proficiency in Oriental learning; of Mr. William Chambers, whose knowledge of the dialects on the Coast of Coromandel, as well as of Persian and Arabic literature, was critical and extensive, and his least praise; of Mr. Francis Gladwyn, the author of many works calculated to assist the students of the Persian language, the translator of various Oriental manuscripts, and particularly of the Institutes of Akbar, the wisest, greatest, and most tolerant monarch that ever swayed the sceptre of India;* of Captain Charles Hamilton, who published a translation of the Hedaya, a code of Mohammedan laws, which has been found of great use in the administration of justice in Bengal; and of Charles Wilkins, Esquire, the first Englishman who acquired a critical knowledge of the language of the Bramins, and who, by

* The toleration of Akbar, and his curiosity to investigate the religious tenets of other nations, have exposed him to the charge of heresy amongst the Mohammedans in general. In a collection of his letters, published by his learned minister Ab-ul-fuzl, there is one addressed to the King of Portugal, in which he censures in the strongest terms the slavish propensity of mankind to adopt the religious principles of their fathers, and those amongst whom they have been brought up, without evidence or investigation; he avows his own pleasure and profit in conversing with the learned professors of different persuasions, and desires that some person of that character, conversant in the Oriental and European languages, may be sent to him. He also requests translations of the *heavenly books*, the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospels, or of any others of general utility.

In a code of instructions, specifically addressed to the officers of his empire, I find the two following passages :

“ Do not molest mankind on account of their religious principles. If in the affairs of this world, which are transitory and perishable, a prudent man is guided by a regard to his interest; still less, in spiritual concerns, which are eternal, whilst he retains his senses, will he adopt what is pernicious. If truth be on his side, do not oppose

the application of rare talents and industry, by his own personal exertions, invented and cast types of the Debnagree, Persic, and Bengalese characters, in such perfection, that no succeeding attempts have exhibited any improvement upon his labours. Of these names, two only survive.

The loss of Mr. Chambers must be particularly lamented by all who feel an interest in communicating a knowledge of the doctrines of Salvation to the natives of India. In an early period of life he saw and felt the truth and importance of the Christian religion, and while his own conduct exhibited the strength of his conviction, he thought it a duty to employ his talents and acquirements in disseminating amongst the untaught natives a knowledge of that faith, which he regarded of supreme and universal importance. In this view, he determined to undertake a translation of the New Testament into Persian, and devoted all his leisure to the performance of this task, with the most zealous solicitude to make it accurate ; but he had not completed half the Gospel of St. Matthew, when it pleased Providence to call him out of this life.

Such, amongst others, were the original members of the society formed at Calcutta, for enquiring into the history, antiquities, the natural productions, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia, under the patronage of Sir Wil-

it and molest him ; but if it be with you, and he from want of understanding should have imbibed erroneous notions, ignorance is his malady, and he is to be considered an object of your compassion and assistance, not of molestation and severity. Keep on good terms with the upright and virtuous *of all persuasions*."

" The best adoration which man in this world can pay to his Maker, is duly to administer the affairs of his creatures, discarding passion and affection, and without distinction of friend or foe, relation or stranger."

liam Jones, who at the first meeting after the institution was completed, in his capacity of president, unfolded, in an elegant and appropriate address, the objects proposed for their researches, and concluded with a promise, which he amply discharged, of communicating the result of his own studies and enquiries.

That he might be qualified to perform this promise in a manner worthy his high reputation, as well as from more commanding motives, he determined to commence without loss of time the study of the Sanscrit. His reflection had before suggested, that a knowledge of this ancient tongue would be of the greatest utility, in enabling him to discharge with confidence and satisfaction to himself the duties of a judge; and he soon discovered, what subsequent experience fully confirmed, that no reliance could be placed on the opinions or interpretations of the professors of the Hindu law, unless he were qualified to examine their authorities and quotations, and detect their errors and misrepresentations. On the other hand, he knew that all attempts to explore the religion or literature of India, through any other medium than a knowledge of the Sanscrit, must be imperfect and unsatisfactory; it was evident, that the most erroneous and discordant opinions on these subjects had been circulated by the ignorance of those who had collected their information from oral communications only, and that the pictures exhibited in Europe, of the religion and literature of India, could only be compared to the maps constructed by the natives, in which every position is distorted, and all proportion violated. As a lawyer, he knew the value and importance of original documents and records; and as a scholar and man of science, he disdained the idea of amusing the learned world with secondary information on subjects which had greatly in-

terested their curiosity, when he had the means of access to the original sources. He was also aware that much was expected by the literati in Europe from his superior abilities and learning, and he felt the strongest inclination to gratify their expectations in the fullest possible extent.

Of his time he had early learned to be a rigid economist, and he frequently regretted the sacrifices of it which custom or ceremony extorted. An adherence to this principle, while it restrained in some degree his habits of social intercourse, necessarily limited his correspondence with his friends.*—From the few letters which he wrote, I shall now select such as describe his feelings, thoughts, and occupations, a few months only after his arrival in Bengal.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO MR. JUSTICE HYDE.

DEAR SIR, Friday Evening, at the Chambers, Jan. 1784.

Ramlochund has raised my curiosity by telling me, that when you had occasion to receive the evidence of

* As a proof of the strict regularity of Sir William Jones in the application of his time, the reader is presented with a transcript of a card in his own writing. It contains, indeed, the occupations which he had prescribed to himself in a period of the following year; but may serve as a sample of the manner in which he devoted his leisure hours at all times.

DAILY STUDIES

for the

Long Vacation of 1785 :

Morning One letter.

Ten chapters of the Bible.

Sanscrit Grammar.

Hindu law, &c.

Afternoon Indian Geography.

Evening Roman History.

Chess. Ariosto.

some *Mugs*, they produced a book in strange square characters, which they called *Zuboor*. Now, *Zuboor* is the name by which the *Psalms of David* are known in Asia. May not this book be the Psalms in old Hebrew or Samaritan, and the people a sect of Jews? Can you give me any information on this head?

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO MR. JUSTICE HYDE.

Garden, May 14, 1784.

Many thanks, my dear sir, for your kind concern and attention. I was on the bridge by Col. Tolly's house in the midst of the storm, my horses mad with the fear of the lightning, and my carriage every moment in danger of being upset by the wind. I was wet to the skin, and saved from worse inconvenience by the diligence of my servants, who took off the horses, and drew the carriage to a place of safety. I am nevertheless in good health; but Lady Jones is not quite recovered from a severe cold and rheumatism attended with a fever.

Remember that I am always ready to relieve you at the chambers in the Loll Bazaar,* and will cheerfully take the labouring oar next month if you please; especially as I propose to spend the long vacation in a floating-house, and to leave Calcutta as soon as the session is over; but I shall return dead or alive before the 22nd of October. I am inexpressibly amused by a Persian translation of an old Sanscrit book, called *Siry Bha'gwat*, which comprises almost the whole of the *Hindu* religion, and contains the life and achievements of *Crishen*; it is by far the most entertaining book, on account of its novelty

* A house in Calcutta, where the puisné judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature attended by rotation in the evening, as justices of the peace.

and wildness, that I ever read.—Farewell, and believe me, dear sir, ever affectionately yours,

WILLIAM JONES.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO DR. PATRICK RUSSEL.

Calcutta, March 10, 1784.

You would readily excuse my delay in answering your obliging letter, if you could form an idea of the incessant hurry and confusion in which I have been kept ever since my arrival in Bengal, by necessary business, or necessary formalities, and by the difficulty of settling myself to my mind in a country so different from that which I have left. I am indeed, at best, but a bad correspondent; for I never write by candlelight, and find so much Arabic or Persian to read, that all my leisure in a morning is hardly sufficient for a thousandth part of the reading that would be highly agreeable and useful to me; and as I purpose to spend the long vacation up the country, I wish to be a match in conversation with the learned natives whom I may happen to meet.

I rejoice that you are so near, but lament that you are not nearer, and am not without hope that you may one day be tempted to visit Bengal, where I flatter myself you will give me as much of your company as possible.

Many thanks for your kind hints in regard to my health. As to me, I do not expect, as long as I stay in India, to be free from a bad digestion, the *morbus literatorum*, for which there is hardly any remedy but abstinence from too much food, literary and culinary. I rise before the sun, and bathe after a gentle ride; my diet is light and sparing, and I go early to rest; yet the activity of my mind is too strong for my constitution, though naturally not infirm, and I must be satisfied with a valetudinarian state of health. If you should meet with any curiosities

on the coast, either in your botanical rambles or in reading, and will communicate them to our society, lately instituted for enquiring into the history, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia, we shall give you our hearty thanks. There is an Abyssinian here, who knew Mr. Bruce at Gwender. I have examined him, and he confirms Bruce's account. Every day supplies me with something new in Oriental learning, and if I were to stay here half a century, I should be continually amused.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO ———.

April 13, 1784.

* * * * *

I am discouraged from writing to you as copiously as I wish, by the fear that my letter may never reach you. I inclose however a hymn to the Indian Cupid, which is here said to be the only correct specimen of Hindu mythology that has appeared; it is certainly new and quite original, except the form of the stanza, which is Milton's. I add the character of Lord Ashburton, which my zeal for his fame prompted me to publish.†

† Lord Ashburton died on the 18th of August 1783. His character, written by Sir William Jones, is published in vol. iv. of his Works, page 577. I transcribe from it the last paragraph, as a proof of the gratitude and sensibility of the writer:—"For some months before his death, the nursery had been his chief delight, and gave him more pleasure than the cabinet could have afforded; but this parental affection, which had been a source of so much felicity, was probably a cause of his fatal illness. He had lost one son, and expected to lose another, when the author of this painful tribute to his memory parted from him, with tears in his eyes, little hoping to see him again in a perishable state. As he perceives, without affectation, that his tears now steal from him, and begin to moisten the paper on which he writes, he reluctantly leaves a subject which he

* * * * *

Had I dreamt that the Dialogue† would have made such a stir, I should certainly have taken more pains with it. I will never cease to avow and justify the doctrine comprised in it. I meant it merely as an imitation of one of Plato's, where a boy wholly ignorant of geometry is made by a few simple questions to demonstrate a proposition ; and I intended to inculcate, that the principles of government were so obvious and intelligible, that a clown might be brought to understand them. As to raising sedition, I as much thought of raising a church.

My Dialogue contains my system, which I have ever avowed, and ever will avow ; but I perfectly agree (and no man of sound intellect can disagree), that such a system is wholly inapplicable to this country (India), where millions of men are so wedded to inveterate prejudices and habits, that if liberty could be forced upon them by Britain, it would make them as miserable as the cruellest despotism.‡

could not soon have exhausted ; and when he also shall resign his life to the great Giver of it, he desires no other decoration of his humble gravestone, than this honourable truth :

“ With none to flatter, none to recommend,

“ DUNNING approv'd, and mark'd him as a friend.”

† See page 329.

[‡ It will be seen by this passage, that Sir William Jones, in his abstract love of liberty, and of popular, if not universal, suffrage, did not overlook the common-sense solution of the question as mixed up with the actual condition of communities, or wish to risk practical and important good for visionary perfection. It is, however, gratifying to add, that since he wrote, such considerable improvements have taken place in India, that much that he might have considered extremely perilous has been actually carried into effect, and this not only without disturbance, but with striking benefit. Little did Sir William Jones anticipate, that in less than forty years an Episcopate would have been established in the three Presidencies of

Pray remember me^d affectionately to all my friends at the bar, whom I have not time to enumerate, and assure my academical and professional friends that I will write to them all when I have leisure. Farewell, &c.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO CHARLES CHAPMAN, ESQ.

Gardens, near Allipore, April 26, 1784.

Allow me, dear sir, to give you the warmest thanks in my own name, and in that of our infant society, for the pleasure which we have received from your interesting account of Cochin-China, with considerable extracts from which we have been favoured by our patrons. Our meetings are well attended, and the society may really be said, considering the recent time of its establishment, to flourish.

We have been rather indisposed, the weather being such as we had no idea of in England, excessive heat at noon, and an incessant high wind from morning to night; at this moment it blows a hurricane, and my study reminds me of my cabin at sea. Our way of life, however, is quite pastoral in this retired spot, as my prime favourites, among all our pets, are two large English sheep, which came with us from Spithead, and, having narrowly escaped the knife, are to live as long and as happily with us as they can. They follow us for bread, and are perfectly domestic. We are literally lulled to sleep by Persian nightingales, and cease to wonder that the Bulbul,

India; that Christian missions would have been not only allowed, but encouraged; that the Holy Scriptures would have been translated into the native tongues, and freely circulated among all classes of the people; that schools of every description would have multiplied; that the fetters of caste would, in various ways, have been relaxed; that slavery would have been abolished; that trial by jury would have been established; and that natives would have been rendered eligible to the offices of jurymen and magistrates.—S. C. W.]

with a *thousand tales*, makes such a figure in Oriental poetry.—Since I am resolved to sit regularly in court as long as I am well, not knowing how soon I may be forced to remit my attention to business, I shall not be at liberty to enter my budgerow till near the end of July, and must be again in Calcutta on the 22nd of October, so that my time will be very limited ; and I shall wish, if possible, to see Benares.

* * * * *

The principal object of his meditated excursion was to open sources of information, on topics entirely new in the republic of letters. The indisposition which he mentions, not without apprehensions of its continuance, had not altogether left him when he commenced his journey, and during the progress of it returned with a severity which long held the public in anxious suspense, before any hopes could be entertained of its favourable termination.

The author of these Memoirs saw him in August 1784, at the house of a friend in the vicinity of Moorshedabad, languid, exhausted, and emaciated, in a state of very doubtful convalescence ; but his mind had suffered no depression, and exhibited all its habitual fervour. In his conversation he spoke with rapture of the country, of the novel and interesting sources opened to his researches, and seemed to lament his sufferings only as impediments to the prosecution of them. From Moorshedabad he proceeded to Jungipore, at the distance of a day's journey only, and from this place continued his correspondence, which describes his condition.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO CHARLES CHAPMAN, ESQ.

August 30, 1784.

Nothing but a series of severe attacks of illness could have prevented my replying long ago to your friendly

letter. After resisting them by temperance and exercise for some time, I was quite overpowered by a fever, which has confined me ten weeks to my couch, but is now almost entirely abated, though it has left me in a state of extreme weakness. I had a relapse at Raugamutty, which obliged me to stay three weeks at Afzalbang, where the judgment and attention of Dr. Glas prevented perhaps serious consequences. I have spent two days at this place, and I find myself so much better, that I propose to continue my voyage this evening. Whether I shall be able to go farther than Patna, (I long to see Benares,) is very uncertain. This is only the second attempt I have made to write since my illness; and as I hold my pen with some difficulty, I will say no more than that I am, with great esteem, &c.

P. S. I cannot help adding, that your proposal of extracting such parts of your very interesting narrative concerning Cochin-China as you may think proper to deposit among the archives of our society is the very thing I wished, and I really think it will be one of our most valuable tracts.*

* The extracts alluded to have not yet appeared in the *Asiatic Researches*. The voyage which led to that narrative was undertaken on the following occasion: Two Mandarins of Cochin-China had been accidentally brought to Calcutta, in 1778; the Governor-general of India, Warren Hastings, Esq., from motives of humanity and policy, furnished the means of their return to their native country; and Charles Chapman, Esq., at his own request, was appointed to accompany them with a public commission, with instructions to establish, if practicable, a commercial intercourse between the Company's settlements in India and Cochin-China, and to procure such privileges and advantages for English vessels resorting thither, as the government of that country might be disposed to grant.

CHAPTER XI.

A. D. 1784—1786.

His religious character ;—his prayers ;—distich on the distribution of time ;—visits various parts of India ;—his return to Calcutta ;—restored to health ;—resumes his judicial and literary occupations ;—correspondence with Sir J. Macpherson on public affairs ;—retires to Crishnagur ;—returns to Calcutta ;—writes in the Asiatic Miscellany ;—his third discourse before the Asiatic Society ;—excursion to Chatigan ;—miscellaneous letters to Sir J. Macpherson, Caldicott, Sir J. Hardyng, and Judge Hyde ;—digests Hindu and Mussulman law ;—History of Emin ;—returns to Calcutta ;—correspondence, domestic and literary, with Miss E. Shipley, Dr. Russel, Mr. Shipley, and Sir J. Macpherson.

BUT the thoughts and attention of Sir William Jones were not confined to the perishable concerns of this world only ; and what was the subject of his meditations in health, was more forcibly impressed upon his mind during illness. He knew the duty of resignation to the will of his Maker, and of dependence on the merits of a Redeemer ; and I find these sentiments expressed in a short prayer, which he composed during his indisposition in September 1784, and which I here insert :

“ O Thou Bestower of all good ! if it please Thee to continue my easy tasks in this life, grant me strength to perform them as a faithful servant : but if thy wisdom hath willed to end them by this thy visitation, admit me, not weighing my unworthiness, but through thy mercy declared in CHRIST, into thy heavenly mansions, that I may continually advance in happiness, by advancing in true knowledge and awful love of Thee. Thy will be done ! ”

I quote with particular satisfaction this short but decisive testimony of the religious principles of Sir William Jones.—Among many additional proofs which might be given of them is the following short prayer, composed on waking, July 27, 1783, at sea, also copied from his own writing :

“ Graciously accept our thanks, Thou Giver of all good, for having preserved us another night, and bestowed on us another day. O, grant that on this day we may meditate on thy Law with joyful veneration, and keep it in all our actions with firm obedience !”*

Minute circumstances frequently tend to mark and develop character. As a farther instance of this observation, however trifling it may appear, the application, by Sir William Jones to himself, of two lines of Milton in his own writing under a card with his printed name, in addition to more substantial proofs, may be quoted in evidence of his habitual frame of mind :

Not wand'ring poor, but trusting all his wealth
With God, who call'd him to a land unknown.

On another scrap of paper, the following lines appear ; they were written by him in India, but at what period is not known, nor indeed of any consequence :

SIR EDWARD COKE :

Six hours in sleep, in law's grave study six,
Four spend in prayer,—the rest on nature fix :

RATHER,

Seven hours to law, to soothing slumber seven,
Ten to the world allot, and *all* to Heaven.

* [In the Memoir of Lord Teignmouth prefixed to the present volume, the writer of this note has noticed an interesting conversation between Granville Sharp and Sir William Jones, before Jones's departure for India, in which Mr. Sharp presents his friend with a collection of prayers, and entreats him to use it ; and Jones replies that his friend's request was “ a high gratification to him, and he was glad to be able to say that he was himself constant in prayer.”—S. C. W.]

If we sometimes suffer the humiliation of seeing great talents and extensive erudition prostituted to infidelity, and employed in propagating misery by endeavouring to subvert the basis of our temporal and eternal welfare, we cannot but feel a more than common gratification at the salutary union of true genius and piety. Learning that wantons in irreligion, may, like the Sirius of Homer, flash its strong light upon us; but, though brilliant, it is baneful, and, while it dazzles, makes us tremble for our safety. Science therefore, without piety, whatever admiration it may excite, will never be entitled to an equal degree of respect and esteem with the humble knowledge which makes us wise unto Salvation. The belief of Sir William Jones in Revelation is openly and distinctly declared in his works: but the unostentatious effusions of sequestered adoration, whilst they prove the sincerity of his conviction, give an additional weight to his avowed opinions. More might be added on this subject, but it will be communicated in another place.

His next stage was Bhagilpoor, the residence of the friend to whom the preceding letters were addressed, and here he was long detained by illness and debility. The vigour of his mind however still continued unimpaired, and, except during the severe paroxysms of disorder, his researches for information were never suspended, nor would he suffer himself to be debarred from any intercourse by which they could be promoted. It was at this place, during the hours of convalescence when he was confined to his couch, that he applied himself to the study of botany; a science for which he had early entertained a great partiality, and which he pronounces the most lovely and fascinating branch of natural knowledge. With the works of Linnæus before him, he procured the plants of the country to be brought to him, and com-

paring the productions of nature with the descriptions and arrangements of the Swedish philosopher, he beguiled the hours of languor and disease, and laid the solid foundation of that botanical knowledge which he ever afterwards cultivated with increasing ardour and delight.

From Bhagilpoor he pursued his journey to Patna, where he was again attacked with a severe indisposition. It did not however prevent him from proceeding by land to Guyah, famous as the birthplace of Boudh, the author of a system of philosophy which labours under the imputation of atheism; but more famous for the annual resort of Hindu pilgrims from all parts of India, who repair to the "holy city" for the purpose of making prescribed oblations to their deceased ancestors, and of obtaining absolution from all their sins.

The city of Benares was his next stage, and the limits of his excursion. He had here an opportunity of seeing the professors of the Hindu religion at the most celebrated and ancient university of India, and had only to regret that his knowledge of their language was insufficient to enable him to converse with them without the assistance of an interpreter. After a short residence, which his sense of duty would not allow him to protract unnecessarily, he returned by the Ganges to Bhagilpoor,*

* From a note written by Sir William Jones on Major Rennel's Account of Butan and Tibet, I extract the following passage. It is endorsed as having been intended for the Researches of the Asiatic Society, but is not published in them.

"Just after sunset, on the 5th of October 1784, I had a distinct view, from Bhagilpoor, of Chumalury Peak, and the adjoining mountains of Tibet, which are very clearly seen from Perneia, and were perfectly recollected by a learned member of our society, one of the latest travellers to that interesting country, who had obligingly communicated to me a correct note of the bearings and courses

where, as he observes, he had already found so much health, pleasure, and instruction for two months.

In his journey from this place to Calcutta, he visited Gour, once the residence of the sovereigns of Bengal. This place still exhibits architectural remains of royal magnificence, which the traveller is obliged to explore at some personal risk amidst forests, the exclusive haunts of wild beasts; for Nature has here resumed her dominion, and triumphs over the short-lived pride of man.

observed in his journey from Rengpur to Tassisudden, and thence through Paradgong to Chumalury. The peak bore very nearly due north to the room from which it was seen, in the house of Mr. Chapman; and from the most accurate calculations that I could make, the horizontal distance at which it was distinctly visible must be at least two hundred and forty-four British miles: there was a strong glare from the setting sun on the snows of its more western side, and it might assuredly have been discerned at a much greater distance. By an observation of Mr. Davis at Rengpur, and another at Tassisudden, the distance of latitude between the place last mentioned and Bhagilpoor is one hundred and sixty-three geographical, or one hundred and eighty-eight and a fraction, British miles: now, although the road from Buxadewar in Butan, the latitude of which was found to be $26^{\circ} 53'$, consisted of rough mountains and deep valleys, yet the way between Paradgong and Chumalury, especially from Chesacamba, the frontier of Tibet, was very level; and the accuracy of our travellers gives us reason to believe, that their *computed* miles from Tassisudden were but little above the standard; so that having measured the northern sides of the two triangles formed by their courses W.N.W. and N.N.W. we could not be far from the truth."

"The mountains of Chumalury are the second or third ridge described in the Memoir. The Major justly considers the mountains of Himola—for so they are named by the natives from a word signifying *snow*—as equal in elevation to any in the old hemisphere; and an observation of Mr. Saunders at Perneia, added to a remark of Mr. Smith on the appearance of Chumalury from Moreng, gives abundant reason to think that we saw from Bhagilpoor the highest mountains in the world, without excepting the Andes."

In a letter to a friend,* written after his arrival in Calcutta, he has briefly described some parts of his journey.

"The Mahanada was beautiful, and the banks of some rivers in the Sunderbunds were magnificent: we passed within two yards of a fine tiger, who gazed on us with indifference; but we took care, for several reasons, to avoid the narrow passes at night. As we approached Calcutta, we perceived the difference of climate, and thought of Bhagilpoor with pleasure and regret."

"I find Calcutta greatly changed: the loss of Mr. Hastings and Shore† I feel very sensibly, and cannot but fear that the pleasure which I derive from other friendships formed in India will be followed by the pain of losing my friends next season. This was a great evil at the university, and abates not a little the happiness I expected in this country.

"Will you have the goodness to ask Mahesa pundit, whether the university of Tyrhoot is still supported, and confers degrees in Hindu law? One of our pundits is dead, and we have thoughts of requesting recommendations from the universities of Hindustan, particularly from Benares, and Tyrhoot, if it exists; so that the new pundit may be universally approved, and the Hindûs may be convinced that we decide on their law from the best information we can procure."‡

"I am just returned," (thus he writes to another correspondent, Dr. P. Russel, March 2, 1785,) "as it were from the brink of another world, having been absent near

* Charles Chapman, Esq.

† Warren Hastings, Esq. and Mr. Shore embarked in February 1785 for England.

‡ The pundits are the expounders of the Hindu law; in which capacity, two constantly attended the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort-William.

seven months, and reduced to a skeleton by fevers of every denomination, with an obstinate bilious flux at their heels. My health is tolerably restored by a long ramble through South Behar and the district of Benares, of which if I were to write an account, I must fill a volume."

They who have perused the description of Joanna by Sir William Jones, will regret that this volume was never written. The objects presented to his inspection during his journey afforded ample scope for his observation, which was equally qualified to explore the beauties of nature, the works of art, the discriminations of character, and the productions of learning and science. Many of the remarks and reflections which he made in this tour are transfused through his various compositions, two of which were actually written during the course of his journey.

The little elegant tale in verse, under the title of *The Enchanted Fruit, or Hindu Wife*, was composed during his residence in Beyhar, and affords a proof of the success of his enquiries, as well as of his skill in the happy application of the intelligence obtained by them.

The other production was a Treatise on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India, which he afterwards revised, and presented to the society. The design of this essay was to point out a resemblance, too strong to have been accidental, between the popular worship of the old Greeks and Italians, and that of the Hindûs; and between their strange religion and that of Egypt, China, Persia, Phrygia, Phœnicia, and Syria, and even remoter nations. The proof of such resemblance, if satisfactorily established, would, as he remarks, authorize an inference of a general union and affinity between the most distinguished inhabitants of the primitive world, at the time when they deviated—as they did too early deviate—from the rational adoration of the only true God.

To this journey, under Providence, he was in all probability indebted for the preservation of his life, which, without it, might have fallen a sacrifice to the accumulation of disease : after his arrival in Calcutta, his health was completely restored.

He now resumed his functions in the Supreme Court of Judicature, and renewed the meetings of the society, which had been interrupted by his absence. In his second anniversary discourse, which was delivered in February 1785, he notices with pleasure and surprise the successful progress of the institution, and the variety of subjects which had been discussed by the members of it ; and as in his first address he had confined himself to the exhibition of a distant prospect only of the vast career on which the society was entering, in the second he delineates a slight but masterly sketch of the various discoveries in history, science, and art, which might justly be expected to result from its researches into the literature of Asia. He mentions his satisfaction at having had an opportunity of visiting two ancient seats of Hindu religion and literature ; and notices the impediments opposed by illness to the prosecution of his proposed enquiries, and the necessity of leaving them, as Æneas is feigned to have left the Shades, when his guide made him recollect *the swift flight of irrevocable time*, with a curiosity raised to the height, and a regret not easy to be described.

I now return to the correspondence of Sir William Jones, which in this year consists of few letters, and those chiefly addressed to John Macpherson, Esq.* who, in February 1785, succeeded to the station of Governor-general of India, on the departure of Mr. Hastings. If in these letters Sir William adverts to topics not fa-

* Afterwards Sir John Macpherson, Bart.

miliar to his readers, they are such as naturally arise out of his situation and connexions. Removed, at a distance of a quarter of the circumference of the globe, from the scene of politics in which he had taken a deep interest, his attention is transferred to new objects and new duties. The sentiments which flow from his pen, in the confidential intercourse of friendship, display his mind more clearly than any narrative; and they are often such as could not be omitted without injury to his character. Some passages in the letters, which, as less generally interesting, could be suppressed without this effect, have not been transcribed.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. MACPHERSON, ESQ.

March 12, 1785.

I always thought, before I left England, that a regard for the public good required the most cordial union between the executive and judicial powers in this country; and I lamented the mischief occasioned by former divisions. Since I have no view of happiness on this side of the grave but in a faithful discharge of my duty, I shall spare no pains to preserve that cordiality which subsists, I trust, and will subsist, between the government and the judges.

Lord Bacon, if I remember right, advises every statesman to relieve his mind from the fatigues of business by a poem, or a prospect, or anything that raises agreeable images: now, as your own gardens afford you the finest prospects, and I should only offer you a view of paddy-fields,* I send you for your amusement, what has amused me in the composition, a poem† on the old philosophy and religion of this country, and you may depend on its

* Rice-fields.

† The Enchanted Fruit, or Hindu Wife. Works, vol. vi. p. 177.

orthodoxy. The time approaches when I must leave these recreations, and return to my desk in court, where, however, a knowledge of the Hindu manners and prejudices may not be useless.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. MACPHERSON, ESQ.

May 17, 1785.

I have so many things, my dear sir, to thank you for, that I scarcely know where to begin. To follow the order of time, I must in the first place give you my hearty thanks for your kind and pleasing letter of last week, which shows that your mind can grasp the whole field of literature and criticism, as well as that of politics; and that, in the manner of ancient rulers in Asia, particularly Cicero, the governor of Cilicia, you unite the character of the statesman and the scholar. Next, for the news, which has on the whole given me pleasure, and in particular, what both pleases and surprises me, that Lord Camden has accepted the post of president of the council. You know the opinion which I early formed of Pitt; and that opinion will be raised still higher, if he has shewn himself (not merely indifferent, but) anxious that the reins of this government may long continue in the hands which now hold them, and which, though mortals, as Addison says, cannot command success, will certainly deserve it. I anxiously wish, for the sake of the public, that not only the operations of the law, but the cordial assent of those on whom it depends, have already secured your seat, as long as it may be consistent with your happiness to fill it. * * * *

I will not fail to talk with Mr. Chambers on the college, and beg you to assure yourself that I shall ever be happy in my sphere to give my humble assistance whenever you may require it.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. MACPHERSON, ESQ.

May 22, 1785.

It was my intention to present to you, in the author's name, the books which I now send. The poet Zainudeen was recommended to me, soon after I came to India, as a worthy ingenious old man. I inclose his verses to you, with a hasty translation,* on the back of the paper, of the best couplets. The smaller volume contains part of the epic poem, which is written with enthusiasm; and the

* This translation, as a specimen of the *taste* and adulatory style of modern Persian poets, is inserted for the reader's entertainment:—

“ Macpherson, exalted as the sky, prosperous in thy undertakings, who like the sun receivest even atoms in thy beams! Thou art the just one of this age; and in thy name that of Nushiroven revives. With the aid of JESUS, (blessed be his name!) the government acquires its stability from thy mind. I have composed a poem in words of truth, beginning with a panegyric on the Company. It contains a recital of the wars of the English, described with an animated pen. By the command of Hastings, entitled to reverence, I began a book on the victory of Benares; but before the completion of my task, that honourable man returned to his country. In thy government has my work been completed, and with thy name have I adorned its opening, in hope that thou wilt send me fresh materials to decorate with golden verses the cheeks of my book. If I compose a Shahnameh on the glorious name of the King of England, the book will fly over Iran and Turan, and the deeds of thy nation will blaze like the sun; if I sing the achievements of the English, the name of Parveiz will be no more mentioned; if I open a chapter of their conquests, Afrasiab will tremble under the earth; the rapid motion of my dark reed will make Rustem halt and droop. Hear my strains with discernment, and my pen shall soar with the wings of a falcon. Favour me, as Sultan Mahmoud shewed kindness to Ferdosi, that we may be a pair of tuneful nightingales.

“ The actions of all nations are commemorated; let those of the English be celebrated under thy auspices. May thy orders be resist-

other volume is filled with odes and elegies, all in the old man's writing. He is *married to immortal verse*, and his highest ambition is to be *an atom in one of your sun-beams*.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. MACPHERSON, ESQ.

May 1785.

The ornament of the faith (for that is the bard's name), *Zainudeen*, will wait upon you on Wednesday: his style of compliments is moderate in comparison of most Oriental compositions; other poets of this country would have entreated you not to ride on horseback, lest you should cause an earthquake in India when you mounted. This was actually said to a prince at Delhi, who pleasantly bade the poet comfort himself, and assured him that he would ever after go in a palanquin.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. MACPHERSON, ESQ.

May 26, 1785.

The regulation which you made concerning the *Madriassa** is so salutary, that few things would grieve me more than to see it frustrated. Your predecessor has often mentioned to me the high opinion which he had less as the sea, the head of the contumacious be in thy power, and the seal of government bear thy name!"

On the names mentioned in this translation, it may be sufficient to observe, that *Ferdosi* is the *Homer of Persia*, who composed an heroic poem under the title of *Shahnameh*; that the name of *Nushiroven* is proverbial for justice; that *Iran* and *Turan* are *Persia* and *Tartary*; and that the other persons introduced were kings or heroes of those countries.

* The passages in these letters relating to the *Madriassa*, or college, as an establishment of national importance, merit a more particular explanation. Mr. Hastings, whilst he held the office of Governor-general, with a view to promote the knowledge of Mohammedan law, as essential to the due administration of justice to the natives of In-

formed of the rector, but (I know not for what reason) he is very unpopular. Perhaps it is only faction, too common in most colleges at our universities, of the students against the head.

It is a remark of Johnson's,* that as spiders would make silk if they could agree together, so men of letters would be useful to the public if they were not perpetually at variance. Besides my approbation as a good citizen of your regulations, I have a particular interest in the conduct of Mujduddeen, who is Maulavy† of the court, and as such ought to be *omni exceptione major*. I believe, from my conversation with him, that he is not a man of deep learning; but his manners are not unpleasing. The proposal which you make cannot but produce good effects; but I hardly know any member of our society who answers your description for a *visitor* under *your directions*, except Mr. Chambers, and his report might be depended on. I will, if you please, propose it on Thursday. The students brought a complaint before me last term, which I dismissed as not being within my cognizance, that their allowances were taken by the head, who left them without subsistence; but whether this be

dia, had established a college at Calcutta, in which native students were admitted and taught at the public expense. This institution was dictated by a wise policy; it was calculated to conciliate the affections of the Mussulmans, and to ensure a succession of men properly qualified by education to expound the law of the Koran, and to fill the important offices of magistrates in the courts of justice. The president of this college had been selected with every attention to his character and ability; but some representations having been made to his disadvantage, the succeeding Governor-general, J. Macpherson, Esq. consulted Sir William Jones on the regulations proper to be established for promoting the laudable objects of the institution, and controlling its conduct.

* Originally Reaumur's. † Expounder of the Mohammedan law.

true or false, it will not be amiss for the Maulavy to know that he is subject to visitation from time to time.

If the best intentions can ensure safety, you have nothing to apprehend ; but, alas ! my friend, if you can be *safe only* in fixed unanimous opinions of *statute law*, you can seldom, I fear, act with perfect confidence. Such is the imperfection of human language, that few written laws are free from ambiguity ; and it rarely happens that many minds are united in the same interpretation of them.

A statesman told Lord Coke, that he meant to consult him on a point of law. " If it be common law," said Coke, " I should be ashamed if I could not give you a ready answer ; but if it be statute law, I should be equally ashamed if I answered you immediately."

I will here only set down a few rules of interpretation which the wisdom of ages has established, where the sense of the words is at all ambiguous.

1. The intention of the writer must be sought, and prevail over the literal sense of terms ; but penal laws must be strictly expounded against offenders, and liberally against the offence.

2. All clauses, preceding or subsequent, must be taken together to explain any one doubtful clause.

3. When a case is expressed to remove any doubt, whether it was included or not, the extent of the clause, with regard to cases not so expressed, is by no means restrained.

4. The conclusion of a phrase is not confined to the words *immediately* preceding, but usually extended to the whole antecedent phrase.

These are copious maxims, and, with half a dozen more, are the stars by which we steer in the construction of all public and private writings.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. MACPHERSON, ESQ.

Court House, July.

We have just convicted a low Hindu of a foul conspiracy, which would have ended in perjury, and (as his own lawgiver says) in every cause of damnation. If richer men were of the plot, I hope our court will escape the reproach of the satirist, that "laws resemble cobwebs, which catch flies and let the wasps break through."

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. MACPHERSON, ESQ.

August 14, 1785.

I give you my hearty thanks, my dear sir, for the History of the Roman Republic, which I read with particular pleasure.

Looking over my shelves the other day, I laid my hand on the annexed little book, ascribed to Sir Walter Raleigh. It is, like most posthumous works, incorrect; but contains, with some rubbish, a number of wise aphorisms and pertinent examples. It is rather the common-place book of some statesman, than a well-digested treatise; but it has amused me on a second reading, and I hope it will amuse a few of your leisure moments.

* * * * *

The society of Sir William Jones was too attractive to allow him to employ his leisure hours in those studies which he so eagerly desired to cultivate; and although no man was more happy in the conversation of his friends, he soon found that the unrestrained enjoyment of this gratification was incompatible with his attention to literary pursuits. He determined therefore to seek some retirement at no great distance from Calcutta, where he might have the benefit of air and exercise, and prosecute

his studies without interruption during the vacations of the Supreme Court. For this purpose, he made choice of a residence at Crishnagur, which had a particular attraction for him, from its vicinity to a Hindu college: and from this spot he writes to his friends.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO DR. PATRICK RUSSEL.

Sept. 8, 1785.

Your two kind letters found me overwhelmed with the business of a severe sessions and term, which lasted two months, and fatigued me so much that I was forced to hasten from Calcutta as fast as winds and oars could carry me. I am now at the ancient university of Nadeya, where I hope to learn the rudiments of that venerable and interesting language which was once vernacular in all India, and in both the peninsulas with their islands. Your pursuits must be delightful, and I shall be impatient to see the fruit of your learned labours. Our society goes on slowly; and hot-bed fruits are not so good to my taste as those which ripen naturally. * * * *

Dr. Kœnig's loss will be severely felt: he was a valuable man, with as much simplicity as Nature herself, whose works he studied. Do you know when his books are to be disposed of? I should wish to purchase his Linnæus.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO CHARLES CHAPMAN, ESQ.

Sept. 28, 1785.

I am proceeding slowly, but surely, in this retired place, in the study of Sanscrit; for I can no longer bear to be at the mercy of our pundits, who deal out Hindu law as they please, and make it at reasonable rates when they

cannot find it ready-made. I annex the form adopted by us for the oaths of Mussulmans; you will in your discretion adopt or reject it; and if you can collect from Mahesa pundit, who seemed a worthy honest man, how Hindu witnesses ought to be examined, and whether the Bramins can give absolution (I think they call it *pryarchitt*) for perjury, and in what case, you will greatly oblige me and contribute to the advancement of justice.

* * * * *

The conclusion of this letter expresses a sentiment which, as a judge in Bengal and friend of human nature, he always considered an object of the first importance.

The period of his residence at his country cottage was necessarily limited by the duty of attending the Supreme Court. On his return to Calcutta, in October, he writes to John Macpherson, Esq.:—"Lady Jones and myself received much benefit from the dry soil and pure air of Crishnagur: how long my health will continue in this town, with constant attendance in court every morning, and the irksome business of justice of peace in the afternoon, I cannot foresee. If temperance and composure of mind will avail, I shall be well; but I would rather be a valetudinarian all my life, than leave unexplored the Sanscrit mine which I have just opened.

"I have brought with me the father of the university of Nadeya, who, though not a Bramin, has taught grammar and ethics to the most learned Bramins, and has no priestly pride, with which his pupils in general abound."

In the year 1785, a periodical work was undertaken at Calcutta, under the title of the *Asiatic Miscellany*, which has been ignorantly ascribed to the Asiatic So-

ciety, with whose researches it had no connexion. The title of the work indicates the nature of its contents, which consisted chiefly of extracts from books published in Europe relating to India, of translations from Oriental authors, and of poems and essays. The editor was occasionally assisted by the literary talents of gentlemen in India; and we find in the two first volumes, which were published in the years 1785 and 86, the following compositions of Sir William Jones, who never neglected any opportunity of contributing to the advancement of Oriental literature:—the tale of the Enchanted Fruit, which has already been mentioned,—six hymns, addressed to as many Hindu deities,*—a literal translation of twenty

* In his hymn to Surya, or the Sun, Sir William Jones alludes to himself in the following beautiful lines :

And, if they ask what mortal pours the strain ?

Say, (for thou seest earth, air, and main,)

Say, " From the bosom of yon silver isle,

Where skies more softly smile,

He came ; and lisping our celestial tongue,

Though not from Brahma sprung,

Draws Orient knowledge from its fountains pure,

Through caves obstructed long and paths too long obscure."

[Mr. Foster, the essayist, brings a heavy charge against Sir William Jones for writing his Hymns to the Hindu Gods. " Was not this," says Mr. Foster, " even a violation of the neutrality, and an offence, not only against the Gospel, but against Theism itself ?" He adds, " I know what may be said about personification, licence of poetry, and so on ; but should not a worshipper of God hold himself under a solemn obligation to abjure all tolerance of even poetical figures that can seriously seem in any way whatever to recognize the pagan divinities, or rather abominations, as the prophets of Jehovah would have called them ? What would Elijah have said to such an employment of talents in his time ? It would have availed little to have told him that these divinities were only personifications (with their appropriate representative idols) of objects in nature, of elements, or of abstractions. He would have

tales and fables of Nizami, expressly intended to assist the students of the Persian language, besides other smaller pieces; from which I quote with pleasure the following beautiful tetrastic, which is a literal translation from the Persian :

On parent knees, a naked new-born child,
Weeping thou sat'st, while all around thee smil'd :
So live, that, sinking in thy last long sleep,
Calm thou may'st smile, when all around thee weep.

The hymns, which are original compositions, are descriptive of the Hindu deities to whom they were addressed, and a short introductory explanation accompanies

sternly replied, 'And was not Baal, whose prophets I destroyed, the same?'—Mr. Foster has overlooked in this charge one main difference; namely, that Sir William Jones did not mean his verses to be taken seriously: they were literary exercises, and he published them only as illustrations of Oriental mythology,—not for the purpose of worship, but of information. Still I feel strongly with Mr. Foster; but rather as regards the puerility than the idolatry of the proceeding. The accomplished linguist acted towards the idols of India in Calcutta, as he had done towards those of Greece and Rome at Harrow; but he meant no reverence to either. I wish that his pen had been less prone to recreate itself with matters unworthy of it; but Sir William Jones was not a man who measured his raptures very calmly, whether writing on Hindu idols, or political club boxes, or "Cardigan lasses;" and Lord Teignmouth, in giving a full-length portrait of him, considered it right to present a faithful copy of all his marked features. It may by many persons be considered the result of a narrow-minded prejudice to notice the distaste which those higher views of religion, and that more intimate acquaintance with its blessedness, which Lord Teignmouth increasingly acquired during the last thirty years of his life, engender for the trifles which even many literary men do not refuse to admire. And yet what sincere Christian can glance at the lives of too many of men of letters without asking whether the obligations of the baptismal vow are really believed to be binding?—S. C. W.]

each. The mythological allusions and Sanscrit names with which they abound, are not sufficiently familiar to the English reader to enable him to derive that pleasure from them which those who are acquainted with the manners and mythology of the Hindûs feel in the perusal of these hymns; but whilst they mark the taste and genius of the author, they supply a fund of information equally novel and curious. We contemplate with delight and surprise the admirer of the Grecian bards, and the pupil of the Grecian sages, led by his enthusiasm from the banks of the Ilyssus to the streams of the Ganges, celebrating, in strains not unworthy of Pindar, the fabulous divinities of India, and exploring the sources of the Egyptian and Persian theology, and of the tenets of the Iönic and Italic schools of philosophy. These compositions were the elegant amusements of hours of leisure and relaxation, which he never suffered to interfere with his public duties. They prove the versatility of those intellectual powers, which could immediately turn from the investigation of legal causes, or the solution of abstruse mathematical problems, to explain and adorn the mythological fictions of the Hindûs, in odes which the Brahmins would have approved and admired. The variety of measures adopted in the composition of these hymns is remarkable: each of the nine* has a different form of versification; and if they are not all equally harmonious, they are all regular. The opening and conclusion of the Hymn to Narayon are very sublime.

On the 2nd of February 1786, Sir William Jones delivered to the society his third annual discourse, in which he proposed to fill up the outlines delineated in his two former addresses, and promised, if the state of his health should permit him to continue long enough in India, to prepare, for the annual meetings of the society,

* He wrote three more hymns afterwards.

a series of short dissertations, unconnected in their titles, but all leading to one common point, of no small importance in the pursuit of interesting truths. He exhibits in this discourse a proof of the successful application of his time to the study of Sanscrit, and speaks with increased confidence of the result of his new attainments. The conclusion presses his regret at the departure for Europe of the very ingenious member who first opened the mine of Sanscrit literature—an honourable tribute to the merit of Mr. Charles Wilkins.

Sir William had long proposed making an excursion to Chatigan, the eastern limits of the British dominions in Bengal. Exclusively of his anxiety to acquire from local observation a knowledge of the state of the country, and of the manners and characters of the natives, a prudent attention to the re-establishment of his health, which had suffered from an unremitted application to his public duties as a judge and magistrate, as well as a regard for that of Lady Jones, now rendered the journey expedient. In the beginning of the year 1786, after the recess of the court, he had an opportunity of executing his plan, and repaired to Chatigan, by sea, in February.

A short time before his departure, a discussion had taken place between the judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature and the executive government of Bengal, respecting a resolution adopted by the latter, altering the mode in which the salaries of the judges had been paid. They remonstrated against the resolution; and the letter written by Sir William Jones to Sir J. Macpherson on the occasion is so strongly characteristic of that independent spirit which he always possessed, that on this account it merits insertion. The remainder of his correspondence of this year, as far as it is proper to lay it before the public, follows in the order of its dates.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO SIR J. MACPHERSON, BART.

MY DEAR SIR,

Phoenix Sloop, Feb. 5, 1786.

Had I known where Captain Light* lived in Calcutta, I would not have troubled you with the annexed letter; but I must request you to forward it to him. It is an answer to an excellent letter from him which I received near a twelvemonth ago. I anxiously hope he has completed (what no other European could begin) a version of the Siamese Code.

My voyage to the eastern coast will, I trust, be very pleasant, and I hope we shall make our part good against the scoundrel Peguers; though, if we descry a fleet of boats, I believe it will be wiser to retreat on the wings of the Phoenix,—for I am not poet enough to believe that another will rise from her ashes.

I lament that our respective engagements have prevented our meeting often since the end of the rains; but six or seven hours in the morning, and two or three in the evening, spent in unremitted labour for the last three months, fatigued me so much, that I had no leisure for society, scarcely any for natural repose. My last act was to sign our letter to your Board on the subject of our salaries; and I would have called upon you to expostulate amicably on the measure you had pursued, if I had not wished to spare you the pain of defending indefensible steps, and the difficulty of finding reasons to support the most unreasonable conduct. Many passages in the letter were softened by my brethren; for I, who have long been habituated to ancient simplicity, am ever inclined both to write and speak as I think and feel; and I should

* Captain Light was appointed superintendent of a new settlement at Penang, or Prince of Wales's Island. He was thoroughly conversant in the Malay dialect.

certainly have asked, if we had conversed on this matter, whether distressing and pinching the judges, and making them contemptible in the eyes of the natives, and of their own servants, was, as you expressed yourself last summer, assisting them with heart and hand; or whether forming resolutions, as the sub-treasurer wrote me word three weeks ago concerning them, of which they were the last men in the settlement to hear, was intended as a return for that perfect cordiality, as far as honesty permitted, which I had assured you and Mr. Stables to be one of the golden rules which I had early resolved to pursue in my judicial character.

In a word, the measure is so totally indefensible, that it would have given me as much pain as yourself to have discussed it. I have marked the progress of this business from the morning when I received Mr. M.'s note; and I am well persuaded that the invasion of our property was not an idea conceived or approved by you, but forced on you by some financier, who was himself deluded by a conceit of impartiality, not considering that the cases were by no means parallel. Under this persuasion, I beg you to believe that the measure has not yet made any change in the sincere esteem with which I am, dear sir, your faithful humble servant,

WILLIAM JONES.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO THOMAS CALDICOTT, ESQ.

Chatigan, Feb. 21, 1786.

I have been so loaded with business, that I deferred writing to you till it was too late to write much; and when the Term ended, was obliged, for the sake of my wife's health and my own, to spend a few weeks in this Indian Montpelier, where the hillocks are covered with pepper-vines, and sparkle with the blossoms of the coffee-

tree. But the description of the place would fill a volume, and I can only write a short letter to say, *Si vales, bene est: valeo.*

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO GEORGE HARDYNGE, ESQ.

Feb. 22, 1786.

A word to you ;—no ! though you have more of wisdom (*et verbum sapienti*, &c.) than I have, or wish to have of popularity, yet I would not send you one word, but millions and trillions of words, if I were not obliged to reserve them for conversation. The immeasurable field that lies before me in the study of Sanscrit and of Hindu jurisprudence (the Arabic laws are familiar to me), compels me for the present to suspend my intention of corresponding regularly with those I love.*

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO SIR J. MACPHERSON, BART.

Jafferabad, Feb. 27, 1786.

I cannot express, my dear sir, the pleasure which I have just received from that part of the Board's letter to

* The following sonnet, written some years before the date of Sir William Jones's letter, was addressed by him to his friend :

TO G. HARDYNGE, ESQ.

HARDYNGE, whom Camden's voice, and Camden's fame,

To noble thoughts and high attempts excite ;

Whom thy learn'd sire's well-polish'd lays invite

To kindle in thy breast Phœbéan flame ;

Oh, rise ! Oh, emulate their lives, and claim

The glorious meed of many a studious night,

And many a day spent in asserting right,

Repressing wrong, and bringing fraud to shame !

Nor let the glare of wealth, or pleasure's bow'rs,

Allure thy fancy.—Think how Tully shone ;

Think how Demosthenes with heav'nly fire

Shook Philip's throne, and lighten'd o'er his tow'rs.

What gave them strength ? Not *eloquence* alone,

But minds elate above each low desire.

W. J.

us, in which they set us right in our misconception of their preceding letter.

I rejoice that we were mistaken, and have just signed our reply: it will, I persuade myself, restore the harmony of our concert, which, if worldly affairs have any analogy to music, will rather be improved than spoiled by a short dissonant interval. You, who are a musician, will feel the tone of this metaphor: as to my harsher notes, *quicquid asperius dictum est, indictum esto*. In fact (you could not know it, but) I never had been so pinched in my life as for the last three months: having bought Company's bonds, (which nothing but extreme necessity could have made me sell at 30 per cent. discount,) I was unable to pay my physician, or my munshis, and was forced to borrow, for the first time in my life, for my daily rice; what was worse, I was forced to borrow of a black man, and it was like touching a snake or the South-American eel;—in short, if our apprehensions had been well-grounded, two of us had resolved to go home next season. But your letter dispersed all clouds, and made my mind as clear as the air of this fine climate, where I expect to escape the heats, and all the ills they produce in a constitution like mine. I confess, I wish you had accepted our offer; for half my salary is enough for me, and I would have received the remainder cheerfully on any terms, as I have hitherto done: but as it is, we are all satisfied, and your offers were so equal, that either would have been satisfactory to me.

You must know better than I can, though I am so much nearer the place on the frontiers where Major Ellerker is now encamped;—I can hardly persuade myself that Myun Gachim Fera,* with all his bravery in

* A general in the service of the King of Ava, who appeared on the frontiers of Chatigan with an army. The Náf is the boundary river between Chatigan and Aracan.

words, will venture to pass the Náf: the whole story is curious, and as I am on the spot, I wish to write it with all the gravity of an historian, especially as I can pick out some part of the Pegu general's original letter, the characters of which are little more than the *nagari* letters inverted and rounded.

I now sit opposite to the seas which wafted us gently hither in the Phœnix; and our voyage was well-timed, for, had we staid two days longer, we should have been in a north-wester. A beautiful vale lies between the hillock on which the house is built and the beach; on all the other sides are hills finely diversified with groves; the walks are scented with blossoms of the *champac** and *nagasar*;† and the plantations of pepper and coffee are equally new and pleasing.—My wife, who desires her best remembrance, amuses herself with drawing, and I with botany. If (which I trust will not be the case) you should be indisposed, this is the Montpelier which will restore you to health.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO MR. JUSTICE HYDE.

Jafferabad, April 30, 1786.

I delayed, my dear sir, to answer your kind letter of the 10th, until I could give you an accurate account of my motions towards Calcutta. We shall not stay here a whole week longer, but proceed, as soon as we can make preparations for our journey, to the burning well,‡

* *Lin. Michelia.*

† *Lin. Mesua.*

‡ The burning well is situated about twenty-two miles from Chaitan, at the termination of a valley surrounded by hills. I visited it in 1778, and, from *recollection*, am enabled to give the following account of it:—The shape of the well, or rather reservoir, is oblong, about six feet by four, and the depth does not exceed twelve feet. The water, which is always cold, is supplied by a spring, and there is a conduit for carrying off the superfluity; a part of the surface of the well, about a fourth, is covered with brick-work, which is nearly

and thence through Tipera to Dacca: an old engagement will oblige us to deviate a little out of our way to Comarcaly; and if the Jellingy be navigable, we shall soon be in Calcutta; if not, we must pass a second time through the Sundarbans;—in all events, nothing, I think, can hinder my being in court on the 15th of June. Suffer me now to thank you, as I do most heartily, for the very useful information which you give me concerning money matters. The ancients said (not very properly) of their imaginary gods, "*carior est divis homo, quàm sibi*:" but I may truly say, "*carior est amicis, quàm sibi*," speaking of myself and of your friendly attentions to me.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO SIR J. MACPHERSON, BART.

May 6, 1786.

I delayed from day to day, and from week to week, the pleasure of answering your acceptable letter, which ignited by the flames, which flash without intermission from the surface of the water. It would appear that an inflammable vapour escapes through the water, which takes fire on contact with the external air; the perpetuity of the flame is occasioned by the ignited brick-work, as, without this, much of the vapour would escape without conflagration. This was proved by taking away the covering of brick-work after the extinction of the heat, by throwing upon it the water of the well. The flames still continued to burst forth from the surface, but with momentary intermissions, and the vapour was always immediately kindled by holding a candle at a small distance from the surface of the water. A piece of silver placed in the conduit for carrying off the superfluous water, was discoloured in a few minutes, and an infusion of tea gave a dark tinge to the water.

On the side of a hill distant about three miles from the burning well, there is a spot of ground, of a few feet only in dimensions, from which flashes of fire burst on stamping strongly with the foot. The appearance of this spot resembled that of earth on which a fire had been kindled. I do not recollect whether it was hot to the touch.

I received, I am afraid, so long ago as the middle of March. I wished to send you something interesting; but my days flowed on in the same equable and uniform tenor, and were only to be distinguished by the advances I made in my Persian, Indian, and botanical pursuits. In short, as it sometimes happens, by intending to write much, I had written nothing; and was preparing to give you some account of my motions towards the presidency, when I had the very great satisfaction of receiving your packet, full of matter, full of pleasing accounts, and full of just observations.

I read with pleasure, while I was at breakfast, Mr. Forster's lively little tract; and having finished my daily task of Persian reading with a learned Parsi of Yezd, who accompanied me hither, I allot the rest of the morning to you.

The approbation given at home to your seasonable exertions here, was but natural; it could not have been otherwise, and therefore it gives me great pleasure, but no surprise. Be assured that general applause ever has resulted, and ever will result, from good actions and salutary measures, as certainly as an echo in rocky places follows the voice. You will readily believe me, when I assure you that I have few things more at heart than that you may enjoy as much as you can desire of that echo, and receive no pain or injury from the rocks; for rocks abound, my friend, in the sea of life.

The Scripture speaks of nations overturning their *judges in stony places*; and ambitious judges ought to be overturned: but as I do not aspire, I can never fall from an eminence.

The state of parties in England still makes me rejoice that I am not in London. My friendships would lead me naturally to wish the rise of the ————— while

my conscience and my humble judgment oblige me to prefer system as far as I know it. God grant he may adopt the best measures for this country, and give them effect by the best means without disarranging your measures, since the wheel of continual changes cannot but have a bad effect in the minds of the governed.—But I sat down to write a letter, not a treatise.

By the way, I have read a second time here your friend's Treatise on the History of Civil Society, and am extremely pleased with it, especially his chapter on the relaxation of national spirit. * * * *

Your communications about the Lama will be truly interesting. I have read, since I left Calcutta, eight hundred pages in quarto concerning the Mythology and History, both civil and natural, of Tibet. The work was printed, with every advantage of new types and curious engravings, at Rome, about ten years ago; and was compiled from the papers of an Italian father, named Orazio, who had lived thirty years in that country and Napal, where he died. On my return, I purpose, with the permission of the society, to send a treatise† to the press, which ought to stand first in our collections, as it will be a key to many other papers. I have caused six or seven plates to be engraved for it.

Always excepting my own imperfect essays, I may venture to foretell that the learned in Europe will not be disappointed by our first volume. But my great object, at which I have long been labouring, is to give our country a complete digest of Hindu and Mussulman law. I have enabled myself, by excessive care, to read the oldest Sanscrit law-books with the help of a loose

† A Dissertation on the Orthography of Asiatic Words in Roman Letters. Works, vol. i. page 175.

Persian paraphrase ; and I have begun a translation of Menu into English ; the best Arabian law-tract I translated last year. What I can possibly perform alone, I will by God's blessing perform ; and I would write on the subject to the Minister, Chancellor, the Board of Control, and the Directors, if I were not apprehensive that they who know the world, but do not fully know me, would think that I expected some advantage either of fame or patronage, by purposing to be made the Justinian of India ; whereas I am conscious of desiring no advantage but the pleasure of doing general good. I shall consequently proceed in the work by my own strength, and will print my digest by degrees at my own expense, giving copies of it where I know they will be useful. One point I have already attained : I made the pundit of our court read and correct a copy of Halhed's† book in the original Sanscrit, and I then obliged him to attest it as good law ; so that he never now can give corrupt opinions without certain detection.

May your commercial blossom arrive at maturity with all the vigour of Indian vegetation !

My soul expands, like your blossom, at the idea of improved commerce : no subject is to me more animating.

I have a commercial idea for you,—not a blossom, but as yet a germ only. What if Persia should now flourish ! and what if the present king, Jaffier Khan, be really as great a man as represented ! Persia wants many manufactures of India, and her king would be a valuable ally.

* * * * *

I have already thanked you for your kind attentions to Emin, and I beg to repeat them : many in England will

† A translation by N. B. Halhed, Esq. of the Code compiled by pundits, by the direction of Mr. Hastings.

be equally thankful. He is a fine fellow; and if active service should be required, he would seek nothing so much as to be placed in the most perilous edge of the battle.

In this letter we see the unabated activity of a vigorous mind, uniting recreation with improvement, and collecting in its progress through the gardens of literature the flowers of every soil. A detailed account of the daily studies of Sir William Jones would surprise the most indefatigable; and it may not be impertinent to mention in proof of this observation, that he found time during his short residence at Chatigan, in addition to the occupations which he has described, to peruse twice the heroic poem of Ferdosi, the Homer of Persia, supposed to contain sixty thousand couplets. Of the sentiments expressed in his correspondence, it is sufficient to remark in general, that they do no less honour to his heart than to his judgment. I cannot but wish that he had found time to write the ample description which he mentions.

Few persons have passed through a greater variety of hardships and perilous adventures than the person mentioned by Sir William Jones under the name of Emin.—Born at Hamadan in Persia, of Armenian parents, and exposed during his infancy to uncommon disasters, while a mere youth he followed his father and ruined family to Calcutta. He had there an opportunity of observing the superiority of Europeans in arms, arts, and sciences over the Asiatics; and the impression which he received from it, inspired an invincible desire in Emin to acquire the knowledge which they possessed. For this purpose, he determined at all hazards to visit England, and after a long opposition from his father, having obtained his reluctant assent, he adopted the only means left for the accomplishment of his purpose, by working his passage

as a common sailor in one of the ships belonging to the East India Company. After his arrival in England, he lost no time in beginning to acquire the instruction which he so anxiously desired; but his progress was retarded by the narrowness of his circumstances, and he was compelled to submit to menial occupations and laborious employments to procure a subsistence. Fortune favoured his perseverance, and in a moment of despair he was accidentally introduced to the notice of the Duke of Northumberland, and afterwards to that of many gentlemen of rank and fortune, by whose assistance his views were promoted.*

* Previous to his introduction to the Duke of Northumberland, Emin had become acquainted with Edmund Burke, whom he accidentally met in the Park. After some conversation, Mr. Burke invited Emin to his apartments, up two pair of stairs, at the sign of Pope's Head, at a bookseller's near the Temple. Emin, ignorant of the name of the gentleman who had treated him with so much courtesy, begged to be favoured with it, and Mr. Burke politely answered — "Sir, my name is Edmund Burke, at your service: I am a runaway son from a father, as you are." He then presented half-a-guinea to Emin, saying, "Upon my honour, this is what I have at present—please to accept it."

Mr. Burke the next day visited Emin, and assisted him with his advice as to the books which he should read. He introduced him to his relation, Mr. William Burke; and for thirty years, Emin acknowledges that he was treated with unceasing kindness by both.

At the period of the commencement of his acquaintance with Mr. Burke, Emin had little left for his maintenance; and the prospect of accomplishing the purpose of his voyage to England became daily more gloomy. "Had not Mr. Burke consoled him now and then (to use the words of Emin), he might have been lost for ever through despair; but his friend always advised him to put his trust in God, and he never missed a day without seeing Emin. He was writing books at the time, and desired the author (i. e. Emin) to copy them: the first was an Imitation of the late Lord Bolingbroke's Letter; the second, the Treatise of the Sublime and Beautiful."—*Life of Emin*, London edition, p. 93.

The great object of Emin was to obtain a knowledge of military tactics, in the hopes of employing it successfully in rescuing the liberty and religion of the country of his ancestors from the despotism of the Turks and Persians. After serving with the Prussian and English armies in Germany, he procured the means of transporting himself into the mountains of Armenia, in the view of offering his services to Heraclius, the reigning prince of Georgia, and of rousing the religious zeal and martial spirit of his countrymen. He had there the mortification to find his resources inadequate to the magnitude of the enterprise, and he was compelled to return disappointed to England. After some time spent in solicitation, he was enabled by the assistance of his patrons to proceed with recommendations to Russia; and thence, after various fatigues and impediments, which his fortitude and perseverance surmounted, he reached Tefflis, the capital of Georgia. After eight years of wandering, perils, and distresses, through the mountains of that country and Armenia, he was obliged to abandon his visionary project, and returned to his father in Calcutta. Still anxious for the accomplishment of his plans, and no ways intimidated by the experience of past dangers and difficulties, he made a third attempt for the execution of them, and proceeded to Persia. This proved equally unsuccessful, and he again returned to Calcutta. In Emin we see the same man, who was a sailor, a porter, a menial servant, and subsisting by charity, the companion of nobles, and patronized by princes and monarchs, ever preserving, in his deepest distresses, a sense of honour, a spirit of integrity, a reliance upon Providence, and a firm adherence to the principles of Christianity, in which he had been educated. During his residence in Calcutta, he published an account of his eventful life, which Sir

William Jones condescended to revise, so far only as to correct orthographical errors, but without any amendment of the style.

From Chatigan, Sir William Jones returned to Calcutta, and after the recess of the court, again visited his retirement at Chrishna-nagur, where he occupied himself as usual in his favourite studies ; an account of which, as well as of his journey to the presidency, I shall supply by extracts from his familiar letters.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO MR. JUSTICE HYDE.

Comarcaly, June 15, 1786.

I find that, in this country, travellers are perfect slaves to the seasons and elements. It was my resolution, when I left Dacca, to push on as expeditiously as possible to Calcutta ; but, in our passage of eight days, last year, through the Tulsi creek and the Artai river, our boat was hotter, day and night, than ever I felt a vapour-bath : till then, as much as I had reason to dread an Indian sun, I had not a complete idea of it. This affected both Lady Jones and me so much, that it would have been madness to have passed the Sundarbans in such weather ; and Mr. Redfearn having promised to send me word when the Jelinga becomes navigable, which is usually about the middle of this month, I expect every day to receive that intelligence ; after which, I shall be in Calcutta in eight days. I am principally vexed at this delay, because, from your having taken the charge when it was Sir R. Chambers' turn, I fear he must be ill, and consequently that you must have a great deal of trouble :—give my affectionate remembrance to him.

I am, &c.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO MISS E. SHIPLEY.

On the Ganges, Sept. 7, 1786.

You do too much honour, my dear madam, to my compositions: they amuse me in the few hours of leisure that my business allows, and if they amuse my friends, I am amply rewarded.

Ma si'l Latino e'l Greco
 Parlan di me dopo la morte, è un vento;
 Ond' io, perchè pavento
 Adunar sempre quel ch' un' ora sgombre,
 Vorrei'l vero abbracciar lassando l' ombre.

We talk of the year 1790 as the happy limit of our residence in this unpropitious climate: but this must be a family secret, lest applications should be made for my place, and I should be shoved out before my resignation. God grant that the bad state of my Anna's health may not compel her to leave India before me! I should remain like a man with a dead palsy on one of his sides: but it were better to lose one side for a time than both for ever. I do not mean that she has been, or is likely to be, in danger from her complaints. I have proposed a visit to her friend Lady Campbell, and she seemed to receive the proposal with pleasure: the sea air, and change of scene at a proper season, may do more than all the faculty, with all their prescriptions. As to politics and ministers, let me whisper another secret in your ear:—

Io non credo più al *nero* ch' all' *azzurro*:—

and, as to coalitions, if the *nero* be mixed with the *azzurro*, they will only make a dirtier colour. India is yet secure, and improvable beyond imagination: it is not however in such a state of security, but that wise politicians may, with strong well-timed exertions and well-applied ad-

dress, contrive to lose it. The discharge of my duty, and the study of Indian laws in their original languages (which is no inconsiderable part of my duty), are an excuse for my neglect of writing letters; and indeed I find by experience, that I can take up my pen for that purpose but once a year, and I have a hundred unanswered letters now lying before me; but my Anna, who is my secretary of state, and first or rather *sole* lady of the treasury, has written volumes. Loves and regards to all who love and regard us: as to compliments, they are unmeaning things, and neither become me to send, nor you to convey.

I am, with great regard, dear madam, your
faithful and affectionate servant,

WILLIAM JONES.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO DR. PATRICK RUSSEL.

Chrishna-nagur, Sept. 28, 1786.

Various causes contribute to render me a bad correspondent, particularly the discharge of my public duty, and the studies which are connected with that duty, such as the Indian and Arabic laws in their several difficult languages, one of which has occupied most of my leisure for the last twelvemonth, excepting when I travelled to Islamabad, for the benefit of the sea-air and verdant hillocks, during the hot season. It is only in such a retirement as the cottage, where I am passing a short vacation, that I can write to literary friends, or even think much on literary subjects; and it was long after I left this solitude last autumn, that I had the pleasure of receiving your most agreeable letter.

I am tolerably strong in *Sanscrit*, and hope to prove my strength soon by translating a law-tract of great intrinsic merit, and extremely curious, which the Hindûs

believe to be almost as old as the Creation. It is ascribed to Menu, the Minos of India, and, like him, the son of Jove. My present study is the original of Bidpa's fables, called *Hitopadesa*,* which is a charming book, and wonderfully useful to a learner of the language. I congratulate you on the completion of your two works, but exhort you to publish them. Think how much fame Kœnig lost by delaying his publications: God knows whether any use, honourable to his memory, will be made of his manuscripts. Think of Mr. D'Herbelot, whose posthumous work, like most others, had the fate of being incorrectly published. Printing is dear at Calcutta; but if government would print your works (as they ought), I could cheerfully superintend commas and colons. I am delighted with your botanical pursuits. They talk of a public garden on the banks of the river near Calcutta. How I wish, for our sakes, you could be allured from the Sircars! I long to visit them, however, and to view your collections; though I must be so honest as to own, that *accurate* botanical descriptions give me more pleasure than an herbal—I mean where the fresh plants can be examined. For this reason I have not begun to collect specimens, but describe as well as I can; and, for brevity, in coarse Latin. Lady Jones assists me by her accuracy in drawing and colouring.

The province of Chatigan (vulgarly Chitigong) is a noble field for a naturalist. It is so called, I believe, from the *chatag*, which is the most beautiful little bird I ever saw. The hills and woods abound with uncommon plants and animals; indeed the whole Eastern peninsula would be a new world to a philosopher. I wish poor Kœnig had

* Translated by Sir William Jones, and published in his Works, vol. vi.

left his papers to you ; Banks has too much of his own to employ him, and Macpherson, who loved the sage, would, I dare say, have persuaded Lord Cornwallis to raise the best monument to his memory—a good edition of his works. I have carefully examined a plant which Kœnig mentioned to me, and called *pentapethès protea*, from the singular variety of leaves on the same tree. The natives call it *Mascamchand* ; and one of its fragrant fleshy blossoms, infused for a night in a glass of water, forms a mucilage of a very cooling quality. The *pentapethès phœnicia*, which now beautifies this plain, produces a similar mucilage, which might answer the same purposes as that of the Arabian gum, if not other and more important purposes. But I mention this plant, because Kœnig told me that Linnæus had inverted nature in his description of it, by assigning to it *five* castrated filaments, to each of which were annexed three prolific ones ; whereas, said he, (I am sure I did not mistake him,) the flower has fifteen castrated, and five prolific ; so that in truth it would have been *pentandrian*. Now I have examined all the flowers of this species that I could get, and I find the description of Linnæus to be correct : but there is no accounting for the variety of a protean plant.

Many thanks for your offer of Mr. D'Hancarville ; but I have the book, though, like you, I have not read it. I wish to be firm in Sanscrit, before I read systems of mythology. We have sent the first papers of our Transactions to the press, and shall go on as fast as Mr. G.'s compositor will let us.—Farewell, my dear sir.—*Vivere, valere, et philosophari cum paucis*, is what I wish for you, as much as for your, &c.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO WILLIAM SHIPLEY, ESQ.*

Chrisna-nagur, Oct. 5, 1786.

I blush, my dear sir, in reading, a second or third time, with increasing delight, your excellent letters from Maidstone, when I compare the dates of them with that of my answer. Various, however, are the causes which oblige me to be an indifferent and slow correspondent: first, illness, which had confined me three months to my couch, where your first letter found me on the great river; next, the discharge of an important duty, which falls peculiarly heavy on the Indian judges, who are forced to act as justices of the peace in a populous country, where the police is deplorably bad; then, the difficult study of Hindu and Mohammedan laws, in two copious languages, Sanscrit and Arabic, which studies are inseparably connected with my public duty, and may tend to establish by degrees, among ten millions of our black subjects, that security of descendable property, a want of which, as you justly observe, has prevented the people of Asia from improving their agriculture and mechanical arts; lastly, I may add (though rather an amusement than a duty) my pursuit of general literature, which I have here an opportunity of doing from the fountain-head,—an opportunity which, if lost, may never be recovered. When I accept therefore with gratitude the honour offered me

* William Shipley, Esq. brother to the late Bishop of St. Asaph, and now in his 89th year.—He suggested the idea of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Commerce, &c. which was established in 1753; and in the following year, a gold medal was voted to him by the Society, with an inscription:—

TO WILLIAM SHIPLEY,
whose public Spirit
gave rise to this
SOCIETY.

by your young Hercules, the Maidstone Society, of being one of their corresponding members, I cannot indulge a hope of being a diligent or useful correspondent, unless any discovery should be made by our Indian Society, which I may think likely to be of use in our common country. Your various papers I have distributed among those who seemed the likeliest to avail themselves of the rules and hints which they contain. The rapidity of the Ganges makes it extremely difficult to rescue the unhappy persons who are overset in boats, especially at the time of the *bore*,* when such accidents most usually happen; but I am confident that the methods prescribed in the little work which you sent me will often be salutary even here. Dr. Johnson's tract I have now lent to a medical friend of great ability; and I am particularly interested in the security of our prisons from infection, to which indeed they are less liable in this climate, from our practice of sleeping in a draught of air whenever it can be had. Without this habit, to which I am now inured, we should never be free from putrid disorders. * * * *

Should your society be so extended as to admit all Kent, you will, I trust, have an excellent member in one of my oldest college friends, Dr. Breton, of Broughton, near Ashford, who has left no path of science or literature unexplored. We shall print our Transactions with

* The *bore*, is an expression applied to a peculiar swell in the Hughli river, occasioned by the rapid influx of the tide: it breaks in shallow water along the shore, and no boat can resist its violence. The noise of its approach is heard at a distance of some miles, and the boats, to avoid it, are rowed into deep water, where the agitation is considerable, but not dangerous. The *bores* are highest about the equinoxes, and at the middle periods between them cease altogether.

all speed consistent with accuracy ; but as all our members, including even our printer, are men of business, in commerce, revenue, or judicature, we cannot proceed very rapidly, either in giving the public the tracts we have already collected, or in adding to our collection.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO SIR J. MACPHERSON, BART.

Calcutta, Nov. 1786.

The society heard with pleasure the curious account of the Lama's inauguration ; and the first sheet of their Transactions is printed. * * * *

Be assured, that I will ever remember the contents of your own letter ; and accept my thanks for the pleasure which I have received from that of Mr. Adam Ferguson to you. One sentence of it is so wise, and so well expressed, that I read it till I had it by heart ; " Justice to the stranger," &c.

I am correcting proofs of our Transactions, which will, I hope, satisfy Mr. Ferguson as to the theology of the Hindûs. By rising before the sun, I allot an hour every day to Sanscrit, and am charmed with knowing so beautiful a sister of Latin and Greek. * * *

Magnum vectigal est parsimonia, is an aphorism which I learned early from Cicero. The public, if they are grateful, must wish that you had attended as vigilantly to your own vectigal, as you have wisely and successfully to theirs.

CHAPTER XII.

A. D. 1787, 1788.

Mr. Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) returns to India with Lord Cornwallis, and renews his intimacy with Jones ; — Jones's pursuits ; — his correspondence with Shore, Walker, Dr. Russel, Caldicott, Wilmot, Dr. Ford, and Sir Joseph Banks, upon various questions of science, literature, and politics ; — his affection for Lady Jones ; — meditates an Epic poem.

IN September 1787, Lord Cornwallis arrived at Fort-William, with the appointment of Governor-general ; and the writer of these sheets, who accompanied him to India, had the happiness of renewing his personal intimacy with Sir William Jones. The uniformity which marked the remaining period of his allotted existence, admits of little variety of delineation. The largest portion of each year was devoted to his professional duties and studies ; and all the time that could be saved from these important avocations, was dedicated to the cultivation of science and literature. Some periods were chequered by illness, the consequence of intense application ; and others were embittered by the frequent and severe indisposition of the partner of his cares and object of his affections. "The climate of India" (as he had already found occasion to remark in a letter to a friend) "had been unpropitious to the delicate constitution of his beloved wife ;" and so apprehensive was he of the consequences, that he intended, "unless some favourable alteration should take place, to urge her return to her native country ; preferring the pang of separation for five or six years, to the anguish, which he should hardly survive, of losing her."

While business required the daily attendance of Sir William Jones in Calcutta, his usual residence was on

the banks of the Ganges, at the distance of five miles from the court: to this spot he returned every evening after sunset, and in the morning rose so early as to reach his apartments in town by walking, at the first appearance of the dawn. Having severely suffered from the heat of the sun, he ever afterwards dreaded and avoided an exposure to it; and in his Hymn to Surya, he alludes to its effect upon him, and to his moonlight rambles, in the following lines :

Then roves thy poet free,
 Who, with no borrow'd art,
 Dares hymn thy pow'r, and durst provoke thy blaze,
 But felt the thrilling dart;
 And now on lowly knee
 From Him, who gave the wound, the balsam prays.

The intervening period of each morning until the opening of the court was regularly allotted and applied to distinct studies. He passed the months of vacation at his retirement at Chrishna-nagur, in his usual pursuits. Some of the literary productions of his retirement will be noticed; and I shall now continue my extracts from his familiar correspondence.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. SHORE, ESQ.

Gardens, near Calcutta, March 25, 1787.

I am charmed, my dear sir, with the short but comprehensive work of Rhadacaunt, your pundit, the title of which I see is Purán-arthupracusam, or 'the meaning of the Purans displayed.' It contains pedigrees, or lists of kings, from the earliest times to the decline of the Indian empire; but the proper names are so murdered, or so strangely disguised in Persian letters, that I am only tantalized with a thirst for more accurate information. If the pundit, at your request, will lend me the original,

my *Marhatta* writer shall copy it elegantly, with spaces between the lines for a literal English translation, which may perhaps be agreeable, with your consent, to our Society.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. SHORE, ESQ.

May 11, 1787.

I return, with many thanks, my dear sir, the letter of his High Mightiness Tatbu Arnu (king of Ava*). When

* If the reader has a curiosity to see this singular letter, he may gratify it. The perusal may perhaps recall to his recollection the following lines :—

———— Here's a large mouth indeed,
That spits forth death and mountains, rocks and seas !

*Official Translation of a Letter from the Rajah or Principal of the
Burmahs to the Collector of Chittagong.*

I am lord of a whole people, and of 101 countries, and my titles are Rajah Chatterdary (*i. e.* sitting under a canopy), and Rajah Surey Bunkshee (*i. e.* descendant of the Sun). Sitting on the throne with a splendid canopy of gold, I hold in subjection to my authority many Rajahs; gold, silver, and jewels are the produce of my country, and in my hand is the instrument of war, that, as the lightning of Heaven, humbles and subdues my enemies: my troops require neither injunctions nor commands, and my elephants and horses are without number. In my service are ten pundits learned in the Shaster, and 104 priests, whose wisdom is not to be equalled; agreeably to whose learning and intelligence, I execute and distribute justice among my people, so that my mandates, like the lightning, suffer no resistance nor control. My subjects are endowed with virtue and the principles of justice, and refrain from all immoral practices, and I am, as the Sun, blessed with the light of wisdom to discover the secret designs of men; whoever is worthy of being called a Rajah, is merciful and just towards his people; thieves, robbers, and disturbers of the peace, have at length received the punishment due to their crimes; and now the word of my mouth is dreaded as the lightning from Heaven. I am as a great sea, among 2000 rivers and many rivulets, and as the mountain Shumeroo, surrounded by 40,000 hills; and like unto these is my authority, extending itself

I began it, I feared it was hostile ; but am glad to find it so amicable. *Dulce mihi nomen pacis !* If he is at peace with the Siamese, he may be a good neighbour, and we may be gainers by his gold and ivory ; but I have no in-

over 101 Rajahs : farther, 10,000 Rajahs pay daily attendance at my Durbar, and my country excels every country of the world ; my palace, as the heavens, studded with gold and precious stones, is revered more than any other palace in the universe. My occupations resemble the business of the chief of the angels, and I have written unto all the provinces of Arracan, with orders to forward this letter in safety to Chittagong, formerly subject to the Rajah Sery Tamah Chucka, by whom the country was cultivated and populated ; and he erected 2400 places of public worship, and made 24 tanks.

Previous to his accession, the country was subject to other Rajahs, whose title was Chatterdary, who erected places of worship, and appointed priests to administer the rites of religion to people of every denomination ; but at that period the country was ill governed, previous to the accession of the Rajah Sery Tamah Chucka to the government of the countries of Rutanpoor, Dootinady, Arracan, Dooraputty, Ramputty, Chagdoye, Mahadaye, Mawong, in whose time the country was governed with justice and ability, and his wisdom was as the lightning ; and the people were happy under his administration. He was also favoured with the friendship of the religious men of the age, one of whom, by name Budder, resorting to his place of residence, was solicited by the Rajah to appoint some one for the purpose of instructing him in religious rites, and Shawhmany was accordingly appointed agreeably to the Rajah's requisition ; at this time it rained from Heaven, gold, silver, and precious stones, which were buried under ground in charge of the above priest, whose house was of gold and silver workmanship, to which the people resort, and worship the deities ; and the Rajah kept a large establishment of servants, and of slaves at the temple, for the service of travellers and passengers ; and his time was engaged in studying of the five books, and he always refrained from immoral practices and deeds interdicted by his religion ; and the priests, &c. abstained from the flesh of geese, pigeons, goats, hogs, and of fowls ; and wickedness, theft, adultery, lying, drunkenness, were unknown in that age. I likewise pursue a line of conduct and religion similar to the above ; but previous to my conquest of Arracan, the people

clination to taste his sweet and delicious petroleum, which he praises so highly : I am satisfied with the smell of it, and with its singular property of restoring the scent of Russia leather. I am told he is an able man ; but

were as snakes wounding men, a prey to enmity and disorder ; and in several provinces there were eaters of the flesh of men, and wickedness prevailed amongst them, so that no man could trust his neighbour. At this time one Bowdah Outhar, otherwise Sery Boot Taukwor, came down in the country of Arracan, and instructed the people and the beasts of the field in the principles of religion and rectitude, and agreeably to his word the country was governed for a period of 5000 years, so that peace and good-will subsisted amongst men ; agreeably hereto is the tenour of my conduct and government of my people : as there is an oil, the produce of a certain spot of the earth, of exquisite flavour, so is my dignity and power above that of other Rajahs ; and Taffloo Rajah, the high-priest, having consulted with the others of that class, represented to me on the 15th Aughur 1148, saying, “ Do you enforce the laws and customs of Sery Boot Taukwor ; ” which I accordingly did, and moreover erected six places of divine worship, and have conformed myself strictly to the laws and customs of Sery Tamah Chucka, governing my people with lenity and justice.

As the country of Arracan lies contiguous to Chittagong, if a treaty of commerce were established between me and the English, perfect amity and alliance would ensue from such engagements ; therefore I have submitted it to you, that the merchants of your country should resort hither for the purpose of purchasing pearls, ivory, wax,—and that, in return, my people should be permitted to resort to Chittagong for the purpose of trafficking in such commodities as the country may afford ; but as the Mugs residing at Chittagong have deviated from the principles of religion and morality, they ought to be corrected for their errors and irregularities, agreeably to the written laws, insomuch as those invested with power will suffer eternal punishment in case of any deviation from their religion and laws ; but whoever conforms his conduct to the strict rules of piety and religion, will hereafter be translated to Heaven. I have accordingly sent four elephants’ teeth under charge of thirty persons, who will return with your answer to the above proposals and offers of alliance.

from all I can learn, I suspect him to be an ambitious dog, who would act the lion if he could, and end, as he is said to have begun, the Aurenzeb of the Indian peninsula.

We are pretty well, and hope that you are now in good health. You will not (though you dislike medicine) object to my prescription:—

Take a concerto of Corelli,
An air of Leo, or Pergolesi,
———a trio of Haydn, &c.—Mixture fiat.

Would I could be as good a physician to you, as I am, &c.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. SHORE, ESQ.

May 12, 1787.

You have sent me a treasure which will enable me to satisfy my mind at least on the chronology of India: need I say, that I shall ever be happy in the conversation of so learned a man as Rhadacaunt? Before I return to Calcutta I shall have read his interesting book, and shall be better able to converse with him in Sanscrit, which I speak continually with my pundit.

I can easily conceive all your feelings; but consider, my dear friend, that you are now collecting for yourself (while you serve your country) those flowers which will give a brighter bloom even to the valleys of Devonshire,—that you are young, and have as fair a prospect of long happiness as any mortal can have. I predict, that when I meet you a few years hence at Teignmouth, where I hope to spend many a season with all that my soul cherishes in this world, I shall hear you confess, that your painful toil in India conducted in the end to your happiness. That you may enjoy as much of it as human life affords, is the sincere wish of, &c.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. SHORE, ESQ.

June 24.

* * * * *

* I am well, rising constantly between three and four, and usually walking two or three miles before sun-rise; my wife is tolerably well; and we only lament that the damp weather will soon oblige us to leave our herds and flocks, and all our rural delights on the banks of the Baghiratti. The business of the court will continue at least two months longer; after which I purpose to take a house at Bandell, or Hughli, and pass my autumnal vacation as usual with the Hindu bards. I have read your pundit's curious book twice in Sanscrit, and will have it elegantly copied; the *Dabistan* also I have read through twice with great attention; and both copies are ready to be returned as you shall direct. Mr. R. Johnston thinks he has a young friend who will translate the *Dabistan*, and the greatest part of it would be very interesting to a curious reader, but some of it cannot be translated. It contains more recondite learning—more entertaining history—more beautiful specimens of poetry—more ingenuity and wit—more indecency and blasphemy, than I ever saw collected in a single volume: the two last are not the author's, but are introduced in the chapters on the heretics and infidels of India. On the whole, it is the most amusing and instructive book I ever read in Persian.†

I hear nothing from Europe but what all the papers

† The *Dabistan* is a treatise on twelve different religions, composed by a Mohammedan traveller, a native of Cashmir, named *Mohsan*, but distinguished by the assumed name of *Fani*, or Perishable. Sir William Jones, in his sixth discourse to the society, on the Persians, refers to it as a rare and interesting tract, which had cast a gleam

contain; and that is enough to make me rejoice exceedingly that I am in Asia. Those with whom I have spent some of my happiest hours, and hope to spend many more on my return to England, are tearing one another to pieces, with the enmity that is proverbial here of the snake and the ichneumon. I have nothing left therefore, but to wish what is right and just may prevail,—to discharge my public duties with unremitted attention,—and to recreate myself at leisure with the literature of this interesting country.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. SHORE, ESQ.

Chrishna-nagur, Aug. 16, 1787.

I thank you heartily, my dear sir, for the tender strains of the unfortunate Charlotte,* which have given us pleasure and pain: the sonnets which relate to herself are incomparably the best. Petrarca is little known; his sonnets, especially the first book, are the least valuable of his works, and contain less natural sentiments than those of the Swan of Avon; but his odes, which are political, are equal to the lyric poems of the Greeks; and his triumphs are in a triumphant strain of sublimity and magnificence. Anna Maria gives you many thanks for the pleasure you have procured her. We are in love with this pastoral cottage: but though these three months are called a vacation, yet I have no vacant hours. It rarely happens that favourite studies are closely connected with the strict discharge of our duty, as mine happily are:

of light on the primeval history of *Iran* and the human race, of which he had long despaired, and which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter.

* Sonnets by Charlotte Smith.

even in this cottage I am assisting the court by studying Arabic and Sanscrit, and have now rendered it an impossibility for the Mohammedan or Hindu lawyers to impose upon us with erroneous opinions.

This brings to my mind your honest pundit, Rhada-caunt, who refused, I hear, the office of pundit to the court, and told Mr. Hastings that he would not accept of it if the salary were doubled: his scruples were probably religious; but they would put it out of my power to serve him, should the office again be vacant. His unvarnished tale I would have repeated to you if we had not missed one another on the river; but since I despair of seeing you until my return to Calcutta at the end of October, I will set it down here, as nearly as I can recollect, in his own words:—

“My father,” said he, “died at the age of an hundred years; and my mother, who was eighty years old, became a *sati*, and burned herself to expiate sins. They left me little besides good principles. Mr. Hastings purchased for me a piece of land, which at first yielded twelve hundred rupees a year; but lately, either through my inattention, or through accident, it has produced only one thousand. This would be sufficient for me and my family; but the duty of Brahmans is not only to teach the youths of their sect, but to relieve those who are poor. I made many presents to poor scholars and others in distress, and for this purpose I anticipated my income: I was then obliged to borrow for my family expenses, and I now owe about three thousand rupees. This debt is my only cause of uneasiness in this world. I would have mentioned it to Mr. Shore, but I was ashamed.”

Now the question is, how he can be set upon his legs again; when I hope he will be more prudent. If Bah-

man* should return to Persia, I can afford to give him one hundred rupees a month till his debts shall be discharged out of his rents; but at present I pay more in salaries to my native scholars than I can well afford: nevertheless, I will cheerfully join you in any mode of clearing the honest man that can be suggested; and I would assist him merely for his own sake, as I have more Brahmanical teachers than I can find time to hear.

I send you, not an elegant pathetic sonnet, but the wildest and strangest poem that was ever written,—Khakani's Complaint in Prison. The whole is a menace, that he would change his religion, and seek protection among the Christians, or the Gabres. It contains one or two proper names of which I find no full explanation even in a commentary professedly written to illustrate the poem.

The fire of Khakani's genius blazes through the smoke of his erudition: the measure of the poem, which will enable you to correct the errors of the copies, is,—

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with a strong accent on the last syllable of each foot.—
Adieu, my dear sir, &c.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO JOS. COWPER WALKER, ESQ
OF VALERI, BRAY, IRELAND.

Chrishna-nagur, Sept. 11, 1787.

I give you my hearty thanks, dear sir, for your kind attention to me, and for the pleasure which I have received from your letter, as well as for that which I certainly shall receive from your Historical Memoirs of

* A parsi and native of Yezd, employed by Sir W. Jones as a sader.

the Irish Bards. The Term being over before your book could be found, and the state of my health obliging me to seek this pastoral retreat, where I always pass my vacation among the Brahmans of this ancient university; I left Calcutta before I could read your work, but shall peruse it with eagerness on my return to the capital. You touched an important string, when you mentioned the subject of Indian music, of which I am particularly fond. I have just read a very old book on that art in Sanscrit. I hope to present the world with the substance of it, as soon as the Transactions of our society can be printed: but we go on slowly, since the press is often engaged by government; and we think it better to let our fruit ripen naturally, than to bring forth such watery and imperfect fruits as are usually raised in hot-beds. The *Asiatic Miscellany*, to which you allude, is not the publication of our society, who mean to print no scraps, nor any *mere* translations. It was the undertaking of a private gentleman, and will certainly be of use in diffusing Oriental literature, though it has not been so correctly printed as I could wish. When you see Colonel Vallancy, whose learned work I have read through twice with great pleasure, I request you to present him with my best remembrance. We shall soon, I hope, see faithful translations of Irish histories and poems. I shall be happy in comparing them with the Sanscrit, with which the ancient language of Ireland had certainly an affinity. Proceed, sir, in your laudable career; you deserve the applause of your country, and will most assuredly have that of, sir, &c.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO DR. PATRICK RUSSEL.

Chrishtna-nagur, Sept. 22, 1787.

Your interesting papers did not find their way to me till I had left this cottage, and was wholly immersed in business. Indeed, I am so harassed for eight months in twelve, that I can seldom think of literature till the autumn vacation, which I pass in this charming plain, the driest in Bengal, and close to a college of Brahmans. I am charmed with your plan; and if the Directors have not yet resolved to print the work at their expense, I can perhaps suggest a mode of procuring very powerful influence with them. The King has much at heart his new botanical garden at St. Vincent's: his object is twofold; to improve the commerce of the West India islands, and to provide the British troops on service there with medicinal plants. Now, if you could send a box or two of seeds, likely to be useful in commerce or medicine directed to Sir George Young, the secretary-at-war, (to whom I have inclosed your letter to the Board at Madras,) I dare say the Board of Control would be desirous to use their influence with the Directors. * *

* You could not have chosen a better specimen than the *pedalium murex*, of which little is said by Linnæus, and that from doubtful authority. The *opuntia* I have not seen here, and I cannot ramble into the woods. Our groves at this place are skirted with an angulated cactus, called *sija* (pronounced *seeja*) in the Sanscrit dictionaries, where I find the names of about three hundred medicinal plants, the virtues of which are mentioned in medicinal books. I agree with you, that those books do not carry full conviction; but they lead to useful experiments, and are therefore valuable. I made fine red ink by dropping a solution of tin in *aqua regia* into an infu-

sion of the *coccus*, which Dr. Anderson was so polite as to send to me. His discovery will, I trust, be useful; his ardour and ingenuity deserve success.

I have just read with attention the *Philosophia Botanica*, which I consider as the grammar, and the *Genera et Species* as the dictionary, of Botany. It is a masterly work, and contains excellent matter in a short volume; but it is harshly, not to say barbarously, written. I grieve to see botany imperfect in its two most important articles, the *natural orders* and the *virtues* of plants, between which I suspect a strong affinity. I envy those who have leisure to pursue this bewitching study.

Pray, my dear sir, have you the Oriental manuscripts of my friend Dr. Alexander Russel? He sent me three, which I returned; the *Sucardan*, the *Banquet of Physicians*, and a beautiful *Hafez*. If you have them, I shall beg leave to read them again when we meet in Europe.

Postscript. What is spikenard? I mean botanically: what is the natural order, class, genus, &c. of the plant? What was the spikenard in the alabaster-box of the Gospel? What was *nardi parvus onyx*? What did Ptolemy mean by the excellent nard of Rhangamutty in Bengal? I have been in vain endeavouring for above two years to procure an answer to these questions: your answer will greatly oblige me.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO THOMAS CALDICOTT, ESQ.

Chrishna-nagur, Sept. 27, 1787.

Your brother sent me your letter at a convenient time, and to a convenient place; for I can only write in the long vacation, which I generally spend in a delightful cottage, about as far from Calcutta as Oxford is from London, and close to an ancient university of Brahmans, with whom I now converse familiarly in Sanscrit. You

would be astonished at the resemblance between that language and both Greek and Latin. Sanscrit and Arabic will enable me to do this country more essential service than the introduction of arts (even if I should be able to introduce them), by procuring an accurate digest of Hindu and Mohammedan laws, which the natives hold sacred, and by which both justice and policy require that they should be governed.

I have published nothing; but Armenian clerks make such blunders, that I print ten or twenty copies of every thing I compose, which are to be considered as manuscripts. I beg you will send me your remarks on my plan of an epic poem. Sanscrit has engaged my vacations lately: but I will finish it, if I live. I promise you to attend to all that is said, especially if alterations are suggested; always reserving to myself the final judgment. One thing I am inflexible in; I have maturely considered the point, and am resolved to write in blank verse. I have not time to add my reasons; but they are good.

I thank you for Sheridan's speech, which I could not however read through. For the last sixteen years of my life, I have been in a habit of requiring evidence of all assertions, and I have no leisure to examine proofs in a business so foreign to my pursuits. * * *

If Hastings and Impey are guilty, let them be punished; but let them not be condemned without legal evidence.—I will say more of myself than you do of yourself, but in few words. I never was unhappy in England—it was not in my nature to be so; but I never was happy till I was settled in India. My constitution has overcome the climate; and if I could say the same of my beloved wife, I should be the happiest of men;—but she has perpetual complaints, and of course I am in perpetual anxiety on her account.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. WILMOT, ESQ.

Chrishna-nagur, Bengal, Oct. 3, 1787.

* * * * I cannot, however, let the season slip, without scribbling a few lines to tell you that my constitution seems to have overcome the climate, and that I should be as happy as mortal man can be, or at least ought to be, if my wife had been as well as I have for the last three years.

I have nothing to say of India politics, except that Lord Cornwallis and * * * are justly popular, and perhaps the most virtuous governors in the world. Of English politics I say nothing, because I doubt whether you and I should ever agree in them. I do not mean the narrow politics of contending parties, but the great principles of government and legislation, the majesty of the whole nation collectively, and the consistency of popular rights with regal prerogative, which ought to be supported, to suppress the oligarchical power. But in India I think little of these matters.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. SHORE, ESQ.

Chrishna-nagur, Oct. 10, 1787.

I hope in less than a fortnight to see you in perfect health, as I shall leave this charming retreat on the 20th. I want but a few leaves of having read your copy of Hafez twice through; and I am obliged to you for the most agreeable task (next the Sah-nameh) I ever performed. The annexed elegy† was sent to me by the

† The elegy alluded to, which has been since printed in a collection of poems, is the following:—

PHILEMON.—AN ELEGY.

Where shade yon yews the church-yard's lonely bourn,
With faltering step, absorb'd in thought profound,

post ; and I send it to you, because I think you will like it. There is a great pathos in the fourth tetrastick ; and I know, unhappily, that excessive grief is neither full of tears, nor full of words ; yet if a dramatic poet were to represent such grief naturally, I doubt whether his con-

Philemon wends in solitude to mourn,
While Evening pours her deep'ning glooms around.

Loud shrieks the blast, the sleety torrent drives,
Wide spreads the tempest's desolating power ;
To grief alone Philemon reckless lives—
No rolling peal he heeds, cold blast, nor shower.

For this the date that stamp'd his partner's doom ;
His trembling lips received her latest breath.
“ Ah ! wilt thou drop one tear on Emma's tomb ? ”
She cried, and closed each wistful eye in death.

No sighs he breathed, for anguish rived his breast ;
Her clay-cold hand he grasp'd, no tears he shed,
Till fainting nature sank by grief oppress'd,
And ere distraction came, all sense had fled.

Now time has calm'd, not cured, Philemon's woe,—
For grief like his, life-woven, never dies ;
And still each year's collected sorrows flow,
As drooping o'er his Emma's tomb he sighs.*

* [Lord Teignmouth, in inserting this elegy with Sir William Jones's eulogium upon it, keeps back the fact that it was his own composition. He seems to have sent it anonymously to his friend ; but the writer of this note has ample proof that he was the author. When Lord Teignmouth's (then Sir John Shore's) much-admired oration on Sir William Jones was published, in 1795, some writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* intimated that Sir John was “ not a lover of poetry ; ” that he represented his lamented friend too much in the aspect of a sterile linguist and jurisconsult, and alighted him as a votary of the Muses and a man of “ exquisitely refined taste.” The present volumes abundantly vindicate both Lord Teignmouth's own taste, and his power to appreciate his friend's.—S. C. W.]

duct would be approved, though with fine acting and fine sounds in the orchestra it ought to have a wonderful effect. Lady J. is pretty well ; a tiger, about a month old, who is suckled by a goat, and has all the gentleness of his foster-mother, is now playing at her feet : I call him Jupiter.—Adieu.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO DR. FORD.

Gardens, on the Ganges, Jan. 5, 1788.

Give me leave to recommend to your kind attentions Colonel Pollier, who will deliver this to you at Oxford. He presents to the University an extremely rare work in Sanscrit, a copy of the four *Vedas*, or Indian scriptures, which confirm, instead of opposing, the Mosaic account of the creation and of the deluge. He is himself one of the best-disposed and best-informed men who ever left India. If he embark to-morrow, I shall not be able to send you by him an Arabic manuscript, which I have read with a native of Mecca—the Poems of the great Ali. * * *

* * * * * Our return to Europe is very distant ; but I hope, before the end of the eighteenth century, to have the pleasure of conversing with you, and to give you a good account of Persia, through which I purpose to return.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

Gardens, near Calcutta, Feb. 25, 1788.

I was highly gratified by your kind letter, and have diffused great pleasure among our astronomers here by showing them an account of the lunar volcano. The Brahmins, to whom I have related the discovery in Sanscrit, are highly delighted with it. Public business presses on me so heavily at this season, that I must postpone the pleasure of writing fully to you till I can retire

in the long vacation to my cottage, where I hear nothing of plaintiffs or defendants. Your second commission I will faithfully execute, and have already made enquiries concerning the *dacca cotton*; but I shall be hardly able to procure the seeds, &c. before the Rodney sails. * *

These letters describe the elegant occupations of a mind disciplined in the school of science, ardent to embrace it in all its extent, and to make even its amusements subservient to the advancement of useful knowledge and the public good. From the discharge of his appointed duties, we see Sir William Jones returning with avidity to his literary pursuits, improving his acquaintance with botany, and relaxing from the severity of study by the perusal of the most admired Oriental authors, communicating his pleasures and acquirements to his friends. There are few of his letters in which he does not introduce the name of Lady Jones with that affection which never abated: she was his constant companion, and the associate of the literary entertainment which occupied and amused his evenings.

Amongst the letters which I have transcribed, I cannot pass without particular notice that which he wrote to me in the beginning of 1787. The prediction which it contains, is a melancholy proof of the disappointment of human expectations; and I am now discharging the duty of affection for his memory at a short distance only from the spot which he mentions as the anticipated scene of future delight, and where I once fondly hoped to enjoy the happiness of his society. That happiness would indeed have imparted a higher bloom to the valleys of Devonshire, which I now trace with the melancholy recollection, that the friend whom I loved, and whose virtues I admired, is no more.

The introduction of the unvarnished tale of his respectable Hindu friend, is a proof of that kindness and sensibility which he ever felt for distressed merit. It is superfluous to add, what the reader will have anticipated, that the disposition to relieve his wants was not suffered to evaporate in mere profession.

In the midst of his public duties and literary employments, political speculations had but little share of his attention; yet the sentiments which he occasionally expresses on this subject do honour to his heart, and prove that the welfare of his country was always nearest to it.

The hope with which he flatters himself, that his constitution had overcome the climate, was unfortunately ill-founded; few months elapsed without his suffering from the effects of it, and every attack had a tendency to weaken the vigour of his frame.

Among other literary designs which he meditated, he mentions the plan of an epic poem. It was founded on the same story which he had originally selected for a composition of the same nature in his twenty-second year—the discovery of England by Brutus; but his acquaintance with Hindu mythology had suggested to him the addition of a machinery perfectly new, by the introduction of the agency of the Hindu deities; and however wild or extravagant the fiction may appear, the discordancy may be easily reconciled by the actual subjection of Hindustan to the British dominion, poetically visible to the guardian angels of that country. The first hint of this poem was not suggested by the example of Pope, but by a passage in a letter of Spenser to Sir Walter Raleigh: it is evident, however, that Sir William Jones was not disposed to abandon the execution of his purpose by the strictures of Dr. Johnson on Pope's intended poem; and that, in more open defiance of the critic's

opinion, he determined to write it in blank verse, although he originally proposed to adopt the heroic measure in rhyme. I should have been happy to gratify the curiosity of my readers with his reasons for this determination; but they do not appear.

Notwithstanding all that might have been expected from the genius, taste, and erudition of Sir William Jones on a subject like this, I cannot, for my own part, lament the application of his time and labour to other studies, calculated to instruct as well as to delight the public; we have far more reason to lament that he did not live to return to his native country through Persia, and that we have lost for ever that information which would have been supplied by his researches and observations during the journey. The strength of a constitution, never vigorous, was unequal to the incessant exertion of his mental faculties; and whilst we admire the boundless activity of his mind, we anticipate with sorrow its fatal effects upon his health.

CHAPTER XIII.

A. D. 1788, 1789.

Wishes to be useful to his country;—recommends to Lord Cornwallis a digest of Hindu and Mohammedan law, and offers to superintend it;—his public-spirited offer gladly accepted;—his eminent qualifications for the task;—miscellaneous correspondence with Dr. Russel, Mr. Caldicott, Mr. Shipley, Lord Montboddo, Judge Hyde, Prince Czartoryski, Sir J. Banks, and Wilmot;—edits Persian poem;—his attainments in prosody.

I HAVE frequently remarked, that it was the prevailing wish of Sir William Jones to render his talents and attainments useful to his country. The tenour of his correspondence shows that his principal studies were directed to this object; and nearly two years preceding the period at which I am arrived, he describes the mode in which he proposes to give effect to his wishes, and expresses his determination to accomplish it, with an energy which marks his sense of the importance of the work he then meditated.

Having now qualified himself, by his knowledge of the Sanscrit and Hindu laws, for the execution of his plan, he determined to delay it no longer; and as he could not prudently defray the expense of the undertaking from his own finances, he deemed it proper to apply to the government of Bengal for their assistance. The following letter, which he addressed to the Governor-general, Lord Cornwallis, on this subject, contains all the explanations necessary.

MY LORD,

It has long been my wish to address the government of the British dominions in India on the admi-

nistration of justice among the natives of Bengal and Bahar; a subject of equal importance to the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, where the judges are required by the legislature to decide controversies between Hindu and Mohammedan parties, according to their respective laws of contracts, and of succession to property: they had, I believe, so decided them, in most cases, before the statute to which I allude had passed; and the parliament only confirmed that mode of decision which the obvious principles of justice had led them before to adopt. Nothing indeed could be more obviously just, than to determine private contests according to those laws which the parties themselves had ever considered as the rules of their conduct and engagements in civil life; nor could anything be wiser, than, by a legislative act, to assure the Hindu and Mussulman subjects of Great Britain, that the private laws which they severally held sacred, and a violation of which they would have thought the most grievous oppression, should not be superseded by a new system, of which they could have no knowledge, and which they must have considered as imposed on them by a spirit of rigour and intolerance.

So far the principle of decision between the native parties in a cause appears perfectly clear; but the difficulty lies (as in most other cases) in the application of the principle to practice: for the Hindu and Mussulman laws are locked up for the most part in two very difficult languages, Sanscrit and Arabic, which few Europeans will ever learn, because neither of them leads to any advantage in worldly pursuits; and if we give judgment only from the opinions of the native lawyers and scholars, we can never be sure that we have not been deceived by them.

It would be absurd and unjust to pass an indiscriminate

censure on so considerable a body of men ; but my experience justifies me in declaring, that I could not with an easy conscience concur in a decision merely on the written opinion of native lawyers, in any cause in which they could have the remotest interest in misleading the court : nor, how vigilant soever we might be, would it be very difficult for them to mislead us ; for a single obscure text, explained by themselves, might be quoted as express authority, though perhaps in the very book from which it was selected it might be differently explained, or introduced only for the purpose of being exploded. The obvious remedy for this evil had occurred to me before I left England, where I had communicated my sentiments to some friends in parliament, and on the bench in Westminster-hall, for whose discernment I had the highest opinion : and those sentiments I propose to unfold in this letter, with as much brevity as the magnitude of the subject will admit.

If we had a complete digest of Hindu and Mohammedan laws, after the model of Justinian's inestimable Pandects, compiled by the most learned of the native lawyers, with an accurate verbal translation of it into English ; and if copies of the work were deposited in the proper offices of the Sedr Divani Adaulat,* and of the Supreme Court, that they might occasionally be consulted as a standard of justice,—we should rarely be at a loss for principles at least, and rules of law applicable to the cases before us, and should never perhaps be led astray by the pundits or maulavis, who would hardly venture to impose on us, when their imposition might so easily be detected. The great work of which Justinian has the credit consists of texts collected from law —books of approved authority which in his time were extant at Rome, and those texts

* The court of appeals in civil suits.

are digested according to a scientific analysis; the names of the original authors, and the titles of their several books, being constantly cited, with references, even to the parts of their works, from which the different passages were selected: but although it comprehends the whole system of jurisprudence, public, private, and criminal, yet that vast compilation was finished, we are told, in three years; it bears marks unquestionably of great precipitation, and of a desire to gratify the Emperor by quickness of despatch; but, with all its imperfections, it is a most valuable mine of judicial knowledge,—it gives law at this hour to the greatest part of Europe, and though few English lawyers dare make such an acknowledgment, it is the true source of nearly all our English laws that are not of a feudal origin. It would not be unworthy of a British government to give the natives of these Indian provinces a permanent security for the due administration of justice among them, similar to that which Justinian gave to his Greek and Roman subjects: but our compilation would require far less labour, and might be completed with far greater exactness in as short a time, since it would be confined to the laws of contracts and inheritances, which are of the most extensive use in private life, and to which the legislature has limited the decisions of the Supreme Court in causes between native parties. The labour of the work would also be greatly diminished by two compilations already made in Sanscrit and Arabic, which approach nearly in merit and in method to the digest of Justinian: the first was composed a few centuries ago by a Brahman of this province, named *Raghunanden*, and is comprised in twenty-seven books at least, on every branch of Hindu law; the second, which the Arabs called the *Indian Decisions*, is known here by the title of *Fetaweh Aalemgiri*, and was compiled by the

order of *Aurangzeb*, in five large volumes, of which I possess a perfect and well-collated copy. To translate these immense works would be superfluous labour; but they will greatly facilitate the compilation of a digest on the laws of inheritance and contracts; and the code, as it is called, of Hindu law, which was compiled at the request of Mr. Hastings, will be useful for the same purpose, though it by no means obviates the difficulties before stated, nor supersedes the necessity or the expedience at least of a more ample repertory of Hindu laws, especially on the twelve different contracts to which Ulpian has given specific names, and on all the others, which, though not specifically named, are reducible to four general heads. The last-mentioned work is entitled *Vivadamasetu*, and consists, like the Roman digests, of authentic texts, with the names of their several authors, regularly prefixed to them, and explained, where an explanation is requisite, in short notes taken from commentaries of high authority: it is, as far as it goes, a very excellent work; but though it appear extremely diffuse on subjects rather curious than useful, and though the chapter on inheritances be copious and exact, yet the other important branch of jurisprudence, the law of contracts, is very succinctly and superficially discussed, and bears an inconsiderable proportion to the rest of the work. But whatever be the merit of the original, the translation of it has no authority, and is of no other use than to suggest inquiries on the many dark passages which we find in it: properly speaking, indeed, we cannot call it a translation,—for though Mr. Halhed performed his part with fidelity, yet the Persian interpreter had supplied him only with a loose, injudicious epitome of the original Sanscrit, in which abstract many essential passages are omitted; though several notes of little consequence are interpolat-

ed, from a vain idea of elucidating or improving the text. All this I say with confidence, having already perused no small part of the original with a learned pundit, comparing it as I proceeded with the English version. Having shown therefore the expedience of a new compilation for each system of Indian law, I beg leave to state the difficulties which must attend the work, and to suggest the means of removing them.

The difficulty which first presents itself, is the *expense* of paying the pundits and maulavis who must compile the digest, and the native writers who must be employed to transcribe it. Since two provinces are immediately under this government, in each of which there are many *customary* laws, it would be proper to employ one pundit of Bengal and another from Bahar; and since there are two Mohammedan sects, who differ in regard to many traditions from their Prophet, and to some decisions of their respective doctors, it might be thought equally proper to engage one maulavi of each sect; and this mode would have another advantage, since two lawyers conferring freely together on fundamental principles common to both, would assist, direct, and check each other.*

Although I can have no personal interest, immediate or consequential, in the work proposed, yet I would cheerfully have borne the whole expense of it, if common prudence had not restrained me, and if my private establishment of native readers and writers, which I cannot with convenience discontinue at present, did not require more than half of the monthly expense which the completion of a digest would, in my opinion, demand. I am under a necessity therefore of intimating, that if the work be thought expedient, the charges of it should be defrayed

* A passage relating to the remuneration of the natives to be employed, is here omitted.

by the government, and the salaries paid by their officers. The second difficulty is, to find a director of the work, and a translator of it, who, with a competent knowledge of the Sanscrit and Arabic, has a general acquaintance with the principles of jurisprudence, and a sufficient share even of legislative spirit to arrange the plan of a digest, superintend the compilation of it, and render the whole, as it proceeds, into perspicuous English, so that even the translation may acquire a degree of authority proportioned to the public opinion of his accuracy. Now, though I am truly conscious of possessing a very moderate portion of those talents which I should require in the superintendant of such a work, yet I may without vanity profess myself equal to the labour of it; and though I would much rather see the work well conducted by any man than myself, yet I would rather give myself the trouble of it, than not live to see it conducted at all; and I cannot but know, that the qualifications required even in the low degree in which I possess them, are not often found united in the same person, for a reason before suggested. If your Lordship, therefore, after full consideration of the subject, shall be of opinion that a digest of Hindu and Mohammedan laws would be a work of national honour and utility; I so cherish both, that I offer the nation my humble labour as far as I can dispose of my time consistently with the faithful discharge of my duty as a magistrate—should this offer be accepted, I should then request your Lordship to nominate the pundits and maulavis to whom I would severally give a plan conformable to the best analysis that I could make; and I should be able, if my health continued firm, to translate, every morning, before any other business is begun, as much as they could compile and the writers copy in the preceding

day. The *Dharmasastra*, or sacred code of the Hindûs, consists of *eighteen* books, the first of which would in any age or nation be thought a wonderful performance; both the first and second have excellent commentaries of great authority, but the other sixteen are too easy to need elucidation: the works of Menu, of *Yagyavalkia*, and most of the others, are in blank verse, but that of *Gautam* is in modulated prose; besides these, the Hindûs have many standard law-tracts with their several commentaries, and among them a fine treatise on inheritances by *Jemutavahan*, to which our pundits often refer; though on that subject the work of *Raghunanden* seems to be more generally approved in this province. The Mussulmans, besides a few general rules in the Koran, and a number of *traditional maxims* delivered from their Prophet and his companions through the sages of their law, together with the opinions of the celebrated lawyers preserved by their disciples, have two incomparable little tracts, one by *Surajuddin*, and the other by *Alkuduri*; the former on succession only, and the other on contracts; also with comments on each, and other comments on them; not to mention some other tracts of acknowledged authority, and large collections of *decision* in particular cases. All these books may, I suppose, be procured with ease; and some of the most rare among them are in my possession: mine I would lend with pleasure to the pundits and maulavis, if they happened to be unprovided with good copies of them; and my example would, I persuade myself, be followed on such an occasion by other collectors of Eastern manuscripts, both natives and Europeans. This is all that appears necessary to be written on the subject with which I began this address to your Lordship: I could not have expressed myself more

concisely without some obscurity; and to have enlarged on the technical plan of the work which I have proposed, would have been superfluous.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WILLIAM JONES.

Calcutta, March 19, 1788.

A proposal, such as the letter of Sir William Jones contains, could not fail of receiving that attention which it merited from the nobleman who presided in the government of India. Fully sensible of the utility of a digest of Hindu and Mohammedan law in facilitating what he was ever anxious to promote—the due administration of justice to the native subjects of the British empire in Hindûstan, the Marquis Cornwallis considered the accomplishment of the plan as calculated to reflect the highest honour upon his administration. The answer to Sir William Jones, written by his direction, expressed this sentiment with a declaration, that his Lordship deemed it singularly fortunate that a person so eminently qualified for the task should, from principles of general benevolence and public spirit, be induced to engage in an undertaking as arduous as it was beneficial.

With this sanction Sir William Jones immediately entered upon the execution of the work; and, having selected with the greatest care, from the most learned Hindûs and Mohammedans, a sufficient number of persons duly qualified for the task of compilation, he traced the plan of the digest, prescribed its arrangement, and pointed out the manuscripts from which it was to be formed.

From a series of letters addressed to the compiler of these Memoirs on the subject of the digest, a large selec-

tion might be made relating to it; but as they cannot be interesting to my readers in general, I shall not interrupt the narrative by their introduction.

At the period when this work was undertaken by Sir William Jones, he had not resided in India more than four years and a half, during which time he had not only acquired a thorough knowledge of the Sanscrit language, but had extended his reading in it so far as to be qualified to form a judgment upon the merit and authority of the authors to be used in the compilation of his work; and although his labour was only applied to the disposition of materials already formed, he was enabled by his previous studies to give them an arrangement superior to any existing, and which the learned natives themselves approved and admired. In the dispensations of Providence, it may be remarked as an occurrence of no ordinary nature, that the professors of the Braminical faith should so far renounce their reserve and distrust, as to submit to the direction of a native of Europe for compiling a digest of their own laws.

I now present the reader with the correspondence of Sir William Jones, during the remainder of 1788 and the following year, without interruption.

The first letter refers to a subject discussed in a conference between the executive government of Bengal and the judges, on the subject of the police at Calcutta, which required great reformation. The establishment of the Supreme Court of Judicature had superseded the former local jurisdictions at Fort-William without making sufficient provisions for the police of the town; and the subject discussed at the conference was that of an application to the legislature of Great Britain for power to establish an efficient police. If the recollection of the writer of these Memoirs does not deceive him, Sir William misunder-

stood the result of the conference, and, under this impression, addressed to him the following letter, which strongly marks his attachment to the constitution of his own country, and deserves on this account, as well as for other opinions expressed in it, to be recorded. His suggestions were adopted in the application to parliament, and confirmed by its sanction.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. SHORE, ESQ.

Feb. 7, 1788.

I avail myself of an hour's leisure, to throw upon paper a few thoughts on the subject of our late conference concerning an application to the legislature, for a power of *summary conviction and punishment* in Calcutta.

The concurrence or dissent of an individual who is not a member of an executive government ought to have so little weight, that I would not have obtruded my opinion if it had not been asked; but it would ill become me to concur in an application to parliament for a power, the granting of which, if I were myself in parliament, I should hold it my duty to oppose.

The difficulty of which we all seemed sensible, arises from a supposed necessity of deviating from the spirit and form of English judicature in criminal cases: yet the English form has been approved by the wisdom of a thousand years, and has been found effectual in the great cities of England for the good order and government of the most high-minded, active, and restless people that exists on earth.

I could easily demonstrate, that the criminal code of our nation is fully sufficient to punish every temporal wrong, and redress every temporal evil, that can injure the public or individuals; and a British tribunal, for punishment of religious offences by Hindûs or Mussul-

mans, would not only be an inquisition of the most extraordinary kind, but would, I am persuaded, be offensive in the beginning, and oppressive in the end, to the natives of both religions.

The question is then reduced to this : Is it absolutely necessary to convict and punish offenders in Calcutta without a jury ? If it be, we must follow the example of Solon, who enacted such laws as were, though not the best in themselves, yet the best that circumstances would admit. I am not convinced that such a necessity exists, and strongly incline to think it does not. The evil to be remedied, is the small number of magistrates ; the obvious remedy is, to appoint a greater number. If the legislature therefore would give the governor in council a power to appoint from six to twelve justices of the peace, those justices would (under the direction of government) appoint subordinate peace-officers, whose legal powers are very considerable, yet accurately defined ; but a *superintendent of the police* is an officer unknown to our system, borrowed from a foreign system, or at least suggesting the idea of a foreign constitution, and his powers being dark and undefined, are those which our law most abhors. The justices would hold a session every quarter of a year, without troubling the members of government, who have other avocations, so that in every year there would be six sessions for administering criminal justice ; but then comes the great question, How could the juries be supplied without injury to those who should sit on them ? Now, without urging that some occasional trouble, and perhaps loss, are the fine which Englishmen pay for their freedom ; without intimating that but a few years ago an application to parliament was made, among other objects, for a trial by jury in all cases, even in Calcutta ; without contending, that if summary con-

victions be once made palatable, we should gradually lose our relish for the admirable mode of trial on which our common liberties at home almost wholly depend; without rambling a moment from the point before us, I conceive that three hundred persons, qualified to serve on petty juries, would be far more than sufficient to divide the trouble with convenience to themselves, and benefit to the community.

On the whole, the annual burthen on each individual, especially if a kind of rotation were observed, or even if the chance of a ballot were taken, would be too inconsiderable to weigh a feather against the important object of supporting so excellent a mode of trial.

After all, are we sure that the British subjects in Calcutta would be better pleased than myself with any slur upon the constitutional trial by jury? and as to the natives, besides the policy of allowing them all the beneficial effects of our judicature (and that a trial by twelve men, instead of one, with a power of exceptions, is a benefit, must be granted by all), I rather think that the inhabitants of a British town, owing local allegiance, are entitled to the local advantage of being tried by a British form. In all events, if it be a benefit, they ought not to be deprived of it without some greater public good to compensate the private injustice, than would result, I apprehend, from the power of summary conviction, if it were exercised by men whose monthly gains would depend on the number of complaints made, and of fines levied.

I am confident therefore, after mature deliberation, that nothing more is to be desired than a power in this government of appointing justices of peace by annual commissions; and these being my sentiments, I rely on your friendship, so long and so constantly manifested,

that if it should be thought proper to mention the concurrence of the judges, you will remember that their concurrence was not unanimous.

I could easily have *said* all this and more, but I chose this mode, through delicacy and fear of giving pain.—Farewell ; and as I esteem you, so esteem, dear sir,
Your ever affectionate, &c.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. SHORE, ESQ.

Gardens, 1788.

I thank you heartily, my dear sir, for every part of your letter, and for your strings of Oriental gems, both for the *Durr* and the *Shebeh* ;* the *pearls* appear with more lustre by the side of the *beads*.

Your quotations from the elegies of Washi are sweetly pathetic : but I will not detain your servant by more observations. Sacontala will hardly be finished before I go to my cottage : happy shall I be if your occupations allow you to pass a few days near it. Adieu.

TO THE SAME.

Gardens, 1788.

The verses are worthy of Catullus, and in his manner ; they would appear well in *Hendecasyllables*. I will think at some leisure moment of giving them a Persian dress according to your hints. I rejoice that you have it in your power to relieve your mind by poetical imagery ; it is the true use of the fine arts.

I have been reading cases for a judgment on Tuesday, from nine o'clock till past two. Farewell.

* An Oriental expression for *prose* and *verse*.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO DR. PATRICK RUSSEL.

Chrishna-nagur, Sept. 24, 1788.

I have acted like those libertines who defer repentance till the hour of death, and then find that they have not time to repent. Thus I deferred the pleasure of answering letters till the vacation; but found the term and session so long, that I have scarcely any vacation at all. I must therefore write very laconically, thanking you heartily for your kind letters, and very curious papers in natural history, wishing that the public may soon gather the fruit of your learned labours.

The business of the court this year has left me no leisure to examine flowers at Chrishna-nagur. The *sija* is never in blossom when I am here; but though it has something of the form of the *cactus*, yet I imagine, from the milk of it, that it is an *Euphorbia*.

With all my exertions, I cannot procure any fresh spikenard; but I will not desist. I have two native physicians in my family, but they have only seen it in a dry state.

I am very sorry to find that you are leaving us, as I have no chance of seeing Europe till the end of the eighteenth century. I wish you and your brother, and his family, a prosperous and speedy voyage. It is impossible for me to write more than, *Vive, vale!*

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO THOMAS CALDICOTT, ESQ.

Sept. 24, 1788.

We have had incessant labour for six hours a day, for three whole months, in the hot season between the tropics; and, what is a sad consequence of long sittings, we have scarcely any vacation. I can therefore only write to you a few lines this autumn. Before your brother sent

me Lewisdon Hill, I had read it twice aloud to different companies, with great delight to myself and to them : thank the author in my name. I believe his nameless rivulet is called *Bret*, or *Brit*, (whence *Bridport*,) by Michael Drayton, who describes the fruitful Marshwood. * * * *

Pray assure all who care for me, or whom I am likely to care for, that I never, directly or indirectly, asked for the succession to Sir E. Impey ; and that, if any indiscreet friend of mine has asked for it in my name, the request was not made by my desire, and never would have been made with my assent.

“ Co' magnanimi pochi, a chi 'l ben piace,”

I have enough ; but if I had not, I think an ambitious judge a very dishonourable and mischievous character. Besides, I never would have opposed Sir R. Chambers, who has been my friend twenty-five years, and wants money, which I do not.

I have fixed on the year 1800 for my return towards Europe, if I live so long ; and hope to begin the new century auspiciously among my friends in England.

P. S. Since I wrote my letter, I have amused myself with composing the annexed ode to Abundance.* It took up ten or twelve hours to compose and copy it. But I must now leave poetry, and return for ten months to J. N. and J. S.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO GEORGE HARDING, ESQ.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Sept. 24, 1788.

I am the worst, and you the best correspondent ; and I make but a pitiful return for your two kind letters by assuring you, that I find it impossible to answer them

* Works, vol. vi. p. 355.

fully this season. My eyes were always weak, and the glare of an Indian sky has not strengthened them: the little day-light I can therefore spare from my public duties, I must allot to studies connected with them; I mean the systems of Indian jurisprudence, and the two abstruse languages in which the Hindu and Mussulman laws are written. * * * *

Anna Maria is pretty well, and I am consequently happy: my own health is firm, and, excepting the state of hers, I have all the happiness a mortal ought to have.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO W. SHIPLEY, ESQ.

Sept. 27, 1788.

* * * * * My own health, by God's blessing, is firm, but my eyes are weak; and I am so intent upon seeing the digest of Indian laws completed, that I devote my leisure almost entirely to that object. The natives are much pleased with the work; but it is only a preliminary to the security which I hope to see established among our Asiatic subjects.

The business of our Society is rather an amusement than a labour to me: they have as yet published nothing, but have materials for two quarto volumes, and will, I hope, send one to Europe next spring. I lament the sad effects of party, or rather faction, in your Maidstone Society, but hope (to use a word of Dr. Johnson) that it will reintegrate. Many thanks for the Transactions of your London Society, which I have lent to a very learned and ingenious friend, who is much pleased with them.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. BURNETT, LORD MONTBODDO.

Sept. 24, 1788.

The questions concerning India which you do me the honour to think me capable of answering, require a longer

answer than the variety of my present occupations allow me to write. Suffer me therefore to inclose a discourse, not yet published, which may give you some satisfaction on Indian literature, and to refer you to the first volume of the Transactions of our Society, which will, I hope, be sent next season to Europe. As my principal object is the jurisprudence, I have not yet examined the philosophy of the Brahmans; but I have seen enough of it to be convinced, that the doctrines of the Vidanti school are Platonic.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. SHORE, ESQ.

Jan. 26, 1789.

Let me trouble you, as you see Colonel Kyd oftener than I do, to give him Sir George Young's botanical letter, which I annex. I have requested Colonel Martin to send Sir George all the seeds which he can collect, and will co-operate (as far as my occupations will allow) in the plan of transferring to the West Indies the spicy forests of Asia: but I have little time at command, and, holding every engagement sacred, I must devote my leisure to the system of Asiatic jurisprudence, which I will see established before I see Europe. It will properly follow your wise and humane design of giving security to the property of the natives. When you have had a copy taken of the Persian Hermit,* I shall be glad to borrow it, that my *munshi* may transcribe it. Could you not find some leisure hour to explain an episode of Homer to Serajélhak, that he might try his hand with it?

* I explained to Serajélhak, the person mentioned by Sir William Jones, Parnel's Hermit, and he composed a Persian poem on the same subject. As it has been frequently transcribed, it might, perhaps, without this explanation, at some future time be considered the original of Parnel's poem.

SIR, WILLIAM JONES TO J. SHORE, ESQ.

1789.

Fleming† still keeps me a prisoner, and forbids my reading aloud, which used to be my chief amusement in the evening. I trust you will soon be well, and that we shall ere long meet. If the man you mention be guilty, I hope he will be punished: I hate favouritism, and if I had the dominions of Chingis Khan, I would not have one favourite. * * * *

The poem of Washi has greatly delighted me; it almost equals Metastasio's on a similar subject, and far surpasses other *Wasukts*‡ which I have seen; yet the beautiful simplicity of the old Arabs, in their short elegies, appears unrivalled by any thing in Persian. I transcribe one of them which I have just read in the *Hamasa*.§

Cease, fruitless tears! afflicted bosom, rest!
My tears obey, but not my wounded breast.
Ah, no! this heart, despairing and forlorn,
Till time itself shall end, must bleed and mourn.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO MR. JUSTICE HYDE.

June 5, 1789.

Though I do not wish to give you the pain of sympathizing (as I know you will sympathize) with me in my present distress, yet as you possibly know it, and as you might think me unusually dejected when we meet, I cannot forbear writing to you; especially as I feel a kind of relief in venting my sorrow to an approved friend. One or two English papers mention the death of Lady Jones's

† His physician.

‡ *Wasukt*, the appellation of an amatory elegy, descriptive of the various sensations and passions excited by love.

§ The original is omitted.

father, in such a manner as to leave me no hope of its being a mistake : this I have known since the 15th of May, but as it may possibly be untrue, I could not in any degree prepare her for the dreadful intelligence. I have therefore taken effectual measures to keep it secret from her, but it is a secret which cannot long be kept ; and the bare idea of the pang which she too soon must feel, and the probable effects of that pang on her delicate constitution, now particularly enervated by the hot season, give me a degree of anguish which I never before felt. Mr. Shore has kindly promised to take care that all her letters by the Indiamen shall be sent in a sealed packet to me, that I may select for her first perusal the letter from her wisest friend, the dowager Lady Spencer, whose handwriting I cannot mistake : I wish I could suppress them all, but that is impossible. The pain of losing our parents, time, and time only, will mitigate ; but my dread is, that the first shock will have some terrible effect on her health ; and this fear haunts me night and day. That your letters may contain the most comfortable news, and that I may see you on Wednesday in perfect health, is the hearty wish of, my dear sir, your faithful and affectionate

WILLIAM JONES.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. SHORE, ESQ.

* * * *

June 9, 1789.

I am glad Jayadeva† pleases you, and thank you for the sublime period of Hooker ; of which I had only before seen the first part. His idea of heavenly and eternal law is just and noble ; and human law, as derived from it, must partake of the praise as far as it is perfectly administered ; but *corruptio optimi fit pessima*, and if the adminis-

† Gitagovinda, or the Songs of Jayadeva ; Works, vol. i. p. 463.

tration of law should ever be corrupted, some future philosopher or orator will thus exhibit the reverse of the medal :

“ Of Law, there can be no more acknowledged, than that her seat is the store-house of quirks, her voice the dissonance of brawls ; all her followers indeed, both at the bar and below it, pay her homage, the very least as gaining their share, and the greatest as hoping for wealth and fame ; but kings, nobles, and people of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all have uniformly found their patience exhausted by her delays, and their purse by her boundless demands.”†

* * * * * The parody was so obvious, that I could not refrain from shewing you the wrong side of the tapestry, with the same figures and flowers, but all maimed and discoloured.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. SHORE, ESQ.

1789.

We have finished the twentieth and last book of Guicciardini's History, the most authentic, I believe, (may I add, I fear ?) that ever was composed. I believe it, because the historian was an actor in his terrible drama, and personally knew the principal performers in it ; and I fear it, because it exhibits the woeful picture of society in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. If you can spare

† The reader will thank me for giving him an opportunity of perusing the passage, at the close of the first book of the Ecclesiastical Polity, which Sir William Jones has parodied :

“ Of Law, there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world ; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power ; both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.”

Reid, we are now ready for him, and will restore his two volumes on our return from Chrisna-nagur.

When we meet, I will give you an account of my progress in detecting a most impudent fraud, in forging a Sanscrit book on oaths, by Hindûs, since I saw you. The book has been brought to me, on a few yellow Bengal leaves apparently modern. The Brahman, who brought it from Sambhu Chaudra Rai, said it was twelve years old; I believe it had not been written twelve days. He said, the original work of Mahadeva himself, from which the prohibition of swearing by the water of the Ganges was extracted, was at Chrisna-nagur. I desired him to tell Sambhu Chaudra, who wants me to admit him a suitor *in formâ pauperis*, without taking his *oath*, that unless he brought me the original, and that apparently ancient, I should be convinced that he meant to impose upon me.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO MR. JUSTICE HYDE.

Sept. 19, 1789.

You have given Lady Jones great pleasure, by informing us, from so good authority, that a ship is arrived from England: she presents you with her best compliments.

Most readily shall I acquiesce in any alleviation of Horrebow's* misery that you and Sir Robert Chambers shall think just and legal. I have not one law book with me, nor, if I had many, should I perfectly know where to

* This man, a foreigner, commanding a vessel trading to Bengal, was convicted before the Supreme Court of Judicature, of purchasing the children of natives, for the purpose of carrying them out of the country and selling them as slaves. It was the first instance of an attempt of this kind; he was prosecuted by order of the government of Bengal, and since the punishment inflicted upon Horrebow the attempt has not been repeated.

look for a mitigation by the court of a sentence, which they pronounced after full consideration of all its probable effects on the person condemned. I much doubt whether it can legally be done ; nor do I think the petition states any urgent reason for it. First, he mentions *losses already sustained* (not therefore to be prevented by his enlargement), and, in my opinion, they cannot easily be more than he deserves. Next, his wife's health may have been injured by his disgrace, and may not be restored by our shortening the time of his confinement, which, if I remember, is almost half expired, and was as short as justice tempered with lenity would allow. His own health is not said to be affected by the imprisonment in such a place, at such a season ; for if it were proved that he were dangerously ill, we might, I suppose, remove him to a healthier place, or even let him go to sea, if able surgeons swore that in their serious opinion nothing else could save his life. That is by no means the case, and I confess I have no compassion for him ; my compassion is for the enslaved children and their parents. Nevertheless I know the benevolence of your heart, and shall approve whatever you and Sir R. C. may do, if any precedent can be found or recollected of a power in the court to do what is now prayed.—I am, &c.

PRINCE ADAM CZARTORYSKI TO SIR WILLIAM JONES.

Sept. 20, 1788.

It is but a fortnight ago since the gentleman to whom the most flattering proof of your kind remembrance was committed delivered it into my hand. I received it with a joined sentiment of gratitude and of vanity. It will be an easy task for you to find out why I am grateful, and everybody, but yourself, will soon hit upon the reasons why your having thought of me makes me vain.

The letter, the idea of the man who wrote it, the place from whence it came, the language of Hafez—all that put together, set my imagination at once in a blaze, and wafted me over in a wish from the Pole to the Indies. It has awakened a train of ideas which lay dormant for a while, and rekindled my somewhat forgotten heat for the Oriental Muses; which is not however to be put on the account of inconstancy, but to my having been crossed in my love for them, very near as much as Sir Roger de Coverly is said to have been, in his addresses to his unkind widow. The war broke out of late, deprived me of my last resource, which was a dervish native of Samercand, who was just come to live with me in the capacity of munshi: his religious zeal would not allow him to continue out of sight of the *Sangiale Sheriff*, so he hastened back to his brethren. After the reception of your letter I grieved still more in seeing myself deprived of proper and easy means to cultivate so interesting a branch of learning, and could not forbear casting an impatient reflection on that warlike spirit, whose influence leaves nothing happy, nothing undisturbed. The acquisition of a language will always appear to me much more valuable than that of a desert. The sudden departure of my dervish has, I find, soured my temper against conquest and conquerors. I wished it was in my power to sweeten it again by the charms of your intercourse, under the benign influence of the climate you inhabit. How happy should I think myself in the enjoyment of your leisure hours, in perusing a country where every object is worth dwelling upon, in paying a visit to the Rajah of Kisnagoor, with a letter of recommendation from your hand! But whilst, with a heated fancy, I am expatiating on those delightful subjects, I find myself in reality circling in a round of things as little suiting with my inclination, as the roughness of the heaven

•

does with my constitution; for, *quid frigore Sarmatico pejus?* which becomes still more intolerable, if you add to it the *in arcto et inglorius labor*, to which we are unfortunately doomed. I cannot finish this letter without repeating to you the warmest acknowledgment of your kind remembrance. I shall be certain to preserve it for ever, if the highest degree of esteem for your eminent qualities and talents, and the most sincere regard for your person, are sufficient titles to ensure it.

I am invariably, &c.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

DEAR SIR JOSEPH,

Sept. 17, 1789.

The season for paying my annual epistolary rents being returned with the rough gales of the autumnal equinox, I am eager to offer my tribute, where it is most due, to my best landlord, who, instead of claiming, like the India Company, sixteen shillings in the pound for the neat profits of my farm, (I speak correctly, though metaphorically,) voluntarily offers me indulgences, even if I should run in arrears.

You have received, I trust, the pods of the finest Dacca cotton, with which the commercial resident at that station supplied me, and which I sent by different conveyances, some inclosed to yourself, some to Sir George Young, and some by private hands. But I have always found it safer to send letters and small parcels by the public packet, than by careless and inconsiderate individuals. I am not partial to the *pryangu*, which I now find is its true name; but Mr. Shore found benefit from it, and procured the fresh plants from Arracan, which died unluckily in their way to Calcutta. But seriously, it deserves a longer trial before its tonic virtues, if it have

any, can be ascertained. It is certainly not so fine a bitter as camomile or columbo root.

I wish politics at ———, but hope that, when the king recovered, science revived. It gives me great pain to know, that party, as it is called, (I call it faction, because I hold party to be grounded on principles, and faction on self-interest, which excludes all principle,) has found its way into a literary club, who meet reciprocally to impart and receive new ideas. I have deep-rooted political principles, which the law taught me: but I should never think of introducing them among men of science; and if, on my return to Europe ten or twelve years hence, I should not find more science than politics in the club, my seat in it will be at the service of any politician who may wish to be one of the party.

An intimate friend of Mr. Blane has written to him, at my request, for the newly discovered fragrant grass; and should the plants be sent before the last ships of the season sail, they shall be sent to you. Whether they be the nard of the ancients, I must doubt, because we have sweet grasses here of innumerable species; and Reuben Burrow brought me an odoriferous grass from the place where the Ganges enters India, and where it covers whole acres, and perfumes the whole country. From his account of it, I suspect it to be Mr. Blane's; but I could make nothing of the dry specimens, except that they differed widely from the *Jatamansi*, which I am persuaded is the Indian nard of Ptolemy. I can only procure the dry *Jatamansi*; but if I can get the stalks, roots, and flowers from Butan, I will send them to you. Since the death of Kœnig, we are in great want of a professed botanist. I have twice read with rapture the *Philosophia Botanica*, and have Murray's edition of the *Genera et Species Plantarum* always with me; but, as I am no

lynx, like Linnæus, I cannot examine minute blossoms, especially those of grasses.

We are far advanced in the second volume of our Transactions.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO JOHN WILMOT, ESQ.

Sept. 20, 1789.

Every sentence in your letter gave me great pleasure, and particularly the pleasing and just account of your truly venerable father. Lady Jones, after the first pang for the loss of hers, resigned herself with true piety to the will of God. She is very weak, and always ill during the heats. I have been, ever since my seasoning, as they call it, perfectly well, notwithstanding incessant business seven hours in a day, for four or five months in a year, and unremitted application, during the vacations, to a vast and interesting study, *a complete knowledge of India*, which I can only attain in the country itself, and I do not mean to stay in the country longer than the last year of the eighteenth century. I rejoice that the King is well, but take no interest in the contests of your aristocratical factions. The time never was, when I would have enlisted under the banners of any faction, though I might have carried a pair of colours, if I had not spurned them, in either legion. My party is that of the whole people; and my principles, which the law taught me, are only to be changed by a change of existence.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO MR. JUSTICE HYDE.

Oct. 20, 1789.

Though I hope, my dear sir, to be with you almost as soon as this letter, yet I write it because it is the last that I shall write to any one for the next eleven months;

and I feel so light, after the completion of my severe epistolary task, that I am disposed to play a voluntary. I have answered fifty very long letters from Europe, and a multitude of short ones: among the rest, I had one from the Chief Baron, who desires his remembrance to you by the title of his old and worthy friend. Another from Master Wilmot informs me, that his father, Sir Eardley, had nearly ended his eightieth year, with as good health and as clear intellects as he ever had in the prime of life. When I express a hope of seeing you in two or three days, it is only a hope; for I shall affront the Mandarin at Chinsura,* if I do not make my annual visit to him: now I can only visit him at night, and the wind and tide may delay me, as they did last year. In all events, I shall be with you, if I live, before the end of the week, as I am preparing to go on board my pinnacle. Besides my annuities of Europe letters, which I pay at this season, I have been winding up all the odds and ends of all my private or literary concerns, and shall think of nothing for eleven months to come, but law, European or Indian. I have written four papers for our expiring Society, on very curious subjects, and have prepared materials for a discourse on the Chinese: the Society is a puny, rickety child, and must be fed with pap; nor shall it die by my fault; but die it must, for I cannot alone support it. In my youthful days, I was always ready to join in a dance or a concert, but I could never bring myself to dance a solitary hornpipe, or to play a solo. When I see Titsingh (who, by the way, will never write anything for us, as long as his own Batavian Society subsists,) I will procure full information concerning the pinch-cushion rice, and will report it to you. Lady Jones is as

* Mr. Titsingh, Governor of Chinsura.

usual, and sends her best remembrance. I too am as usual, and as ever,

Dear sir, your faithful, &c.

WILLIAM JONES.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO J. SHORE, ESQ.

Oct. 20, 1789.

Your approbation of Sacontala gives at least as much pleasure to the translator as you had from the perusal of it, and would encourage me to translate more dramas, if I were not resolved to devote all my time to law, European and Indian.

The idea of your happiness (and few men have a brighter prospect of it than yourself) reconciles me to our approaching separation, though it must be very long: for I will not see England, while the interested factions which distract it leave the legislature no time for the great operations which are essential for public felicity, while patriotic virtues are derided as visionary, and while the rancour of contending parties fills with thorns those particular societies in which I hoped to gather nothing but roses. I am sorry (for the metaphor brings to my mind the *Bostani Kheiyal*†) that the *garden of fancy* should have as many weeds as that of politics. Surajélhak pronounced it, with emphasis, a wonderful work; and a young Mussulman assured me, that it comprised all the finest inventions of India and Persia. The work will probably mend as it proceeds.

We must spare ourselves the pain of taking a formal leave: so farewell. May you live happy in a free country!—I am, &c.

* * * * *

† The Garden of Fancy; the title of an Eastern romance in Persian, in sixteen quarto volumes.

The affectionate wish which concludes these extracts from the correspondence of Sir William Jones was dictated by the circumstance of my departure from India: it has been verified; and the recollection of the place which I held in his esteem, however accompanied with regret for his death, is an additional source of that happiness which he wished me to enjoy.

Among other literary occupations in which he employed himself during the two last years, it is to be noticed that he undertook the office of editor of the elegant poem of *Hatefi*, on the unfortunate loves of *Laili* and *Mujnoon*, an Arabian youth and princess. The benevolent object of his labours renders them interesting, as the book was published at his own expense, with a declared appropriation of the produce of the sale to the relief of insolvent debtors in the gaol at Calcutta.

In the English preface to the Persian work, he has given a translation of five distichs in the measure of the original, and has shewn that a bare transposition of the accents gives five English couplets in the form which some call heroic, and others elegiac. As a metrical curiosity, I first transcribe the lines in the measure of the original, with the transposed version of the couplets in the English form:

With cheeks where eternal paradise bloom'd,
Sweet Laili the soul of Kais had consum'd.
Transported her heav'nly graces he view'd :
Of slumber no more he thought, nor of food ;
Love rais'd in their glowing bosoms his throne,
Adopting the chosen pair as his own.
Together on flowery seats they repos'd ;
Their lips not one idle moment were clos'd :
To mortals they gave no hint of their smart ;
Love only the secret drew from each heart.

TRANSPPOSITION.

With cheeks where paradise eternal bloom'd,
Sweet Laili had the soul of Kais consum'd.
Her heav'nly graces he transported view'd:
No more he thought of slumber, nor of food ;
Love in their glowing bosoms rais'd his throne,
The chosen pair adopting as his own.
On flowery seats together they repos'd ;
Their lips one idle moment were not clos'd :
No hint they gave to mortals of their smart ;
Love only drew the secret from each heart.

It has already been mentioned, that, in the earliest periods of his education, Sir William Jones had applied himself with uncommon assiduity to the study of prosody ; and, as he advanced in the acquisition of new dialects, he continued to cultivate a knowledge of the laws of metre, which he found of the greatest utility in ascertaining the text of Oriental authors. In the collection of his Works, we read a translation of the first Nemean ode of Pindar, as nearly as possible in the same measure as the original ; and, amongst other compositions of the same kind, not intended for publication, I find a translation of an ode of Sappho, word for word from the original, and syllable for syllable in the same measure, by the truest rules of English quantity.

CHAPTER XIV.

A.D. 1789—1794.

Edits the Asiatic Researches ;—observations on the Asiatic Society, and scientific labours of Englishmen in India ;—Mr. Shore returns from India ;—Jones's views, occupations, and prospects described in letters to Count Reviczki, Dr. Price, Dr. Ford, Mr. Shipley, Mrs. Sloper, Sir J. Macpherson, Mr. Morris, Sir J. Sinclair, Mr. Harding, Sir J. Bankes, and Warren Hastings ;—his love of topography and botany ;—credits Bruce's Travels ;—Sir J. Shore (Lord Teignmouth) returns to India as Governor-general ;—Lady Jones's health declining, she is obliged to return to England ;—Sir William Jones arranges to follow her ;—publishes his translation of the Ordinances of Menu ;—character of the work ;—his last letter to Sir J. Shore, offering consolation under domestic calamities ;—Lord Teignmouth's remarks on the letter ;—Jones's conjugal attachment ;—his pious sentiments ;—a prayer composed by him ;—his firm belief in the doctrines of Christianity ;—quotations in illustration of his religious opinions ;—defends the Mosaic history ;—exposes injudicious appeals to Hindu mythology ;—recommends translating portions of the Scriptures into Oriental tongues ;—is anxious for the conversion of the Hindoos to Christianity ;—his solemn testimony to the veracity and authenticity of Holy Writ ;—shows that the Mosaic narrative is confirmed by historical researches ;—sought opportunities to defend Christianity ;—estimate of the value of the testimonies of eminent men to the truth of Christianity.

IN the beginning of 1789, the first volume of the Researches of the Society was published. The selection of the papers was left to the judgment of Sir William Jones, and he undertook the laborious and unpleasant office of superintending the printing. A third part of the volume, the most interesting as well as instructive, is occupied by the contributions of the president.

Having passed half of my life in India, I may be permitted to avail myself of the opportunity afforded by this publication, to vindicate my fellow-labourers in the East from one amongst many reproaches undeservedly bestowed upon them. A disinclination to explore the literature and antiquities of Hindustan has been urged as the natural consequence of that immoderate pursuit of riches which was supposed to be the sole object of the servants of the East India Company, and to engross their whole attention. The difficulty attending the acquisition of new idioms—the obstacles opposed by the fears, prejudices, and the reserve of the natives—the constant occupations of official duty, and the injurious effect of sedentary application in a tropical climate upon the constitution, were unnoticed or disregarded, and no allowances made for impediments which time and perseverance could alone surmount.

The reproach was unmerited; and long before the arrival of Sir William Jones in India, the talents of several persons there had been applied with considerable success, not only to investigations by which the public interests were essentially assisted, but to those scientific researches which he more effectually promoted. The art of printing had been introduced into Bengal by the untaught skill of Mr. Wilkins, and had advanced to great perfection; and many publications, equally useful and interesting, issued from the press which he had established.

The genius, example, and direction of Sir William Jones anticipated what time might perhaps have effected, but with slower progress. With advantages which no European in India possessed, he employed the ascendancy derived from his superior learning, knowledge, and abilities, to form an institution for promoting and preserving the literary labours of his countrymen; and while he

exhibited himself an example for imitation, and pointed out in his discourses those extensive investigations which he only was capable of conceiving, his conduct was adapted to encourage and invite all who possessed talents and knowledge to contribute to the success of the institution. The establishment of the Society, which does no less honour to him than to the character of our countrymen in Asia, may hereafter form an important article in the general history of arts and sciences; and if the future labours of the members should be continued with the same zeal, the obligations of the public will be proportionably increased.* In the twenty years which have

* Three volumes of the Asiatic Researches were published before the death of Sir William Jones; a fourth was ready for the press at the time of his demise, in April 1794; and a seventh volume has since been received in England.†

† [I am rather surprised that it did not occur to Lord Teignmouth to caution his readers against several attacks more or less formal upon Divine Revelation, in some of the volumes of the Asiatic Researches which had been published previous to the date of his note. The volumes in which himself and Sir William Jones were concerned, were peculiarly valuable from the strong incidental conformations which they afforded to the truth of Holy Writ. Sir William solemnly affirmed, that, after the most rigorous investigation of the evidence afforded by his researches, he found his historical inquiries end in a confirmation of the Mosaic account of the primitive world. He maintained also, that the Jewish records are the most ancient extant; but in an advertisement prefixed to the fifth volume, a use most mischievous, but happily as weak as mischievous, was made of the opinion of Maurice that the Vedas were older. There occur also some coarse remarks hostile to religion by Mr. Reuben Burrow. The sixth volume is deformed by a paper by Dr. Francis Buchanan, in which the "religion," as it is called, of the Burmese is said to combine all that is most excellent in Judaism and Christianity; and "its system of morals" is declared to be "as good as that held forth by any of the religious doctrines prevailing among mankind," though the people are stated to be utterly "ignorant of a Supreme Being." 't is to be lamented that a valuable series of volumes should be de-
 -olated by such impious absurdities.—S. C. W.]

elapsed since this establishment was formed, more accurate information on the history and antiquities, on the arts, sciences, and literature of India, has been given to the world, than ever before appeared; and without disparaging the labours of other investigators and the merit of antecedent publications, the volumes of the Asiatic Researches will ever remain an honourable testimony of the zeal and abilities of the British residents in Hindustan.*

A copy of this work was transmitted by Sir William Jones to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, with a letter intimating a wish that the King would honour the Society by his acceptance of it; with which his Majesty graciously complied.†

* I cannot omit this opportunity of paying a tribute to the enlightened views and enlarged policy of Marquis Wellesley, Governor-general of India, in founding a college at Fort-William, in Bengal, for the instruction of the servants of the East India Company in every branch of useful knowledge. The plan of the institution may perhaps have been more extensive than was absolutely necessary for this purpose; but against the principle of it, no solid objection could be urged. The functions assigned to the servants of the East India Company are of great magnitude, variety, and importance; and to discharge them properly, requires the education of a statesman and legislator, and a thorough knowledge of the dialects in use in Hindustan. To enable the servants of the Company to acquire the necessary qualifications for the due discharge of these important duties, was the grand object of the institution, which at the same time comprehended the religious instruction, and the superintendence of the morals and habits of the pupils. Considered in a secondary and subordinate point of view, it was calculated to promote the objects proposed in the formation of the Asiatic Society. A volume of essays by the students in the college has been published, which does equal honour to them and to the institution.

† The acceptance of the volume by the King was announced by the following letter:—

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In the same year, Sir William presented to the public a translation of an ancient Indian drama, under the title of *Sacontala*, or *The Fatal Ring*, exhibiting a most pleasing and authentic picture of old Hindu manners, and one of the greatest curiosities that the literature of Asia had yet brought to light. Calidas, the author of it, whom Sir William Jones calls the Shakspeare of India, lived in the first century before Christ, not many years after Terence, and he wrote several other dramas and poetical pieces, of which only *Sacontala* has received an European dress. The violation of the unities, as well as the mixture of foreign mythology, which constitutes the machinery of the play, are irreconcilable with the purer taste which marks the dramatic compositions of Europe: but although the translator declined offering a criticism on the characters and conduct of the play, "from a conviction that the tastes of men differ as much as the sentiments and passions, and that in feeling the beauties of art, as in smelling flowers, tasting fruits, viewing prospects, and hearing melody, every individual must be guided by his own sensations and incommunicable associations of his own ideas," we may venture to pronounce that, exclusive of the wild, picturesque, and sublime imagery which characterises it, the simplicity of the dialogue in many

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE H. DUNDAS.

SIR,

Whitehall, Feb. 22, 1790.

Having laid before the King, Sir William Jones's letter to you, I am directed by his Majesty to signify his gracious acceptance of the volume transmitted by you; and, at the same time, to express his Majesty's satisfaction in the progress of the sciences in the British establishment in India, and his approbation of the important undertaking in which Sir William Jones is engaged.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

W. W. GRENVILLE.

of the scenes, and the natural characters of many of the personages introduced, cannot fail of exciting pleasure and interest in the reader, who will wish with me, perhaps, that Sir William Jones had not rigidly adhered to the determination which he expressed, not to employ his leisure in translating more of the works of Calidas.

In December 1789, the author of these Memoirs was compelled, by the reiterated attacks of severe indisposition, to leave India. For an account of the occupations of Sir William Jones from that period to his return, I refer to his correspondence, beginning with a letter from Count Reviczki: the reader will see with pleasure, that the mutual regard professed by the two friends had suffered no abatement from time or separation.

London, June 30, 1789.

By the Vestal frigate, which was to convey Lord Cathcart to China, I wrote an answer to your elegant Persian letter, which I received through Mr. Elmsley. It was a most agreeable proof to me, that I was still honoured with a place in your remembrance, notwithstanding the distance which separates us. I have since learned, that Colonel Cathcart died on the voyage; and as the Vestal, in consequence of this event, returned to England, I am not without apprehension that my letter never reached you. I have since received a most superb work printed at Calcutta, and which would do honour to the first printing-office in Europe, accompanied with an elegant and obliging letter. I recognised in it the hand of a skilful penman, if I may be allowed to judge; for I have so long neglected the cultivation of Oriental literature, that I am almost as much a stranger to it as if I had never learned it. I have never yet seen so elegant

a specimen of Oriental typography as that in the Persian poem with which you favoured me.

I cannot express how much I regret the loss of your society during my residence in London, which would have afforded me so much gratification ; and I doubt if I shall have an opportunity of enjoying it after your return, as I must soon enter upon the new office conferred upon me by the Emperor, of minister at Naples. But, whatever my destination may be, of this you may be assured, that neither absence nor distance will ever weaken my attachment to you, and that during life I shall consider myself equally bound by gratitude and inclination to preserve it.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

COUNT REVICZKI.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO DR. PRICE.

MY DEAR SIR,

Chrisna-nagur, Sept. 14, 1790.

I give you my warmest thanks for your friendly letter, and acceptable present of an admirable discourse, which I have read with great delight. * * *

We have twenty millions (I speak with good information) of Indian subjects, whose laws I am now compiling and arranging, in the hope of securing their property to themselves and their heirs. They are pleased with the work ; but it makes me a very bad correspondent. I had flattered myself with a hope of making a visit to our venerable friend at Philadelphia, before the retreat which I meditate to my humble cottage in Middlesex ; but God's will be done ! We shall meet, I devoutly hope, in a happier state.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO THE REVEREND DR. FORD, PRINCIPAL
OF MAGDALEN HALL, OXFORD.

Chrishna-nagur, Oct. 11, 1790.

Though I am, for the best of reasons, the worst of correspondents, yet I will no longer delay to thank you for your friendly letter of the 4th of February, and for your kind attentions to Colonel Polier. You have a much better correspondent in Mr. Langlas, whose patriotism, I hope, will succeed, and whose Persian literature will be a source of delight to him, if not to the public. Mr. Wehl's favour never reached me, or I would have answered it immediately; and I request you to inform him of my disappointment. The chances are about three to one against your receiving this; and the fear of writing for the sport of winds and waves disheartens me whenever I take up a pen.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO WILLIAM SHIPLEY, ESQ.

DEAR SIR,

Chrishna-nagur, Oct. 11, 1790.

The ships which brought your kind letters arrived so near the end of my short vacation, that I have but just time to thank you for them, as I do most heartily, as well as for your acceptable presents. Anna Maria has recovered from the pang which the sad intelligence from England gave her, and a pious resignation has succeeded to her natural anguish. You are, I hope, quite recovered from your illness, and again promoting the welfare and convenience of mankind, by your judicious exertions and ingenious inventions, to which all possible attention shall be shewn in this country. May you very long enjoy the pleasure of doing good, which is, I well know, the only reward you seek.—It is now settled here, that the natives are proprietors of their land, and that it

shall descend by their own laws. I am engaged in superintending a complete system of Indian laws: but the work is vast, difficult, and delicate; it occupies all my leisure, and makes me the worst of correspondents. I trust, however, that long letters are not necessary to convince you that

I am, &c.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO MRS. SLOPER.*

Chrishna-nagur, Oct. 13, 1790.

I deserve no thanks for the attentions which it is both my duty and my delight to shew our beloved Anna; but you deserve, and I beg you to accept, my warmest thanks for your entertaining letter, for your frequent kind remembrance of me, and for your acceptable present of a snuff-box in the most elegant taste. All that you write concerning our friends is highly interesting to me; and all pleasing, except the contents of your last page: but the most agreeable part of your letter is the hope which you express that the Bath waters would restore you to health; and it gives me infinite pleasure to know that your hope has been realized. Anna will give you a full account of herself, and will mention some of the many reasons that make me a bad correspondent. I thank you for Erskine's speech; but I was myself an advocate so long, that I never mind what advocates *say*, but what they *prove*; and I can only examine *proofs* in causes brought before me. I knew you would receive with your usual good-nature my saucy jests about your hand-writing, but hope you will write to me as you write to Anna; for you know, the more any character resembles pot-hooks, &c. the better I can read it. My love to Amelia, and to all whom you love, which would

* Sister to Lady Jones, and married to William Charles Sloper, Esq.

give them a claim, if they had no other, to the affection
of, my dear madam,

Your ever faithful

WILLIAM JONES.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO SIR J. MACPHERSON, BART.

Chrishna-nagur, Oct. 15, 1790.

I give you hearty thanks for your postscript, which (as you enjoin secrecy) I will only allude to ambiguously, lest this letter should fall into other hands than yours. Be assured, that what I am going to say does not proceed from an imperfect sense of your kindness, but really I want no addition to my fortune, which is enough for me; and if the whole legislature of Britain were to offer me a different station from that which I now fill, I should most gratefully and respectfully decline it. The character of an ambitious judge is, in my opinion, very dangerous to public justice; and if I were a sole legislator, it should be enacted that every judge, as well as every bishop, should remain for life in the place which he first accepted.* This is not the language of a cynic, but of a man who loves his friends, his country, and mankind; who knows the short duration of human life, recollects that he has lived four-and-forty years, and has learned to be contented. Of public affairs you will receive better intelligence than I am able to give you. My private life is similar to that which you remember: seven hours a day on an average are occupied by my duties as a magistrate, and one hour to the new Indian digest; for one hour in the evening I read aloud to Lady Jones. We are now travelling to the sources of the

* [Translations for interested motives are an evil; but different stations require different degrees of qualification; so that a judicious translation may be often better than appointing an untried officer to an arduous post.—S. C. W.]

Nile with Mr. Bruce, whose work is very interesting and important. The second volume of the Asiatic Transactions is printed, and the third ready for the press. I jabber Sanscrit every day with the pundits, and hope, before I leave India, to understand it as well as I do Latin. Among my letters I find one directed to you; I have unsealed it; and though it only shews that I was not inattentive to the note with which you favoured me on the eve of your departure, yet I annex it, because it was yours, though brought back by my servant.

The latter part of it will raise melancholy ideas; but death, if we look at it firmly, is only a change of place: every departure of a friend is a sort of death; and we are all continually dying and reviving. We shall all meet: I hope to meet you again in India; but, wherever we meet, I expect to see you well and happy. None of your friends can wish for your health and happiness more ardently than, my dear sir, &c.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO R. MORRIS, ESQ.

Calcutta, Oct. 30, 1790.

When your letter arrived, I had begun my judicial campaign, and am so busy I can only answer it very shortly. Lady J. and myself are sincerely rejoiced that you have so good an establishment in so fine a country. Need I say, that it would give me infinite delight to promote your views? As far as I can, I will promote them; but though I have a very extensive acquaintance, I neither have, nor can have, influence; I can only approve and recommend, and do my best to circulate your proposals. We are equally obliged to you for your kind invitation as if we had it in our power to accept it; but I fear we cannot leave Calcutta long enough to revisit

your Indian Montpelier. As one of the Cymro-dorians, I am warmly interested in British antiquities and literature; but my honour is pledged for the completion of the new digest of Hindu laws, and I have not a moment to spare for any other study.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO SIR J. SINCLAIR, BART.,
WHITEHALL.

Chrishna-nagur, Oct. 15, 1791.

You may rely upon my best endeavours to procure information concerning the Asiatic wool, or soft hair, and the animals that carry it. I had the pleasure of circulating your very interesting tracts at Calcutta, and of exhibiting the specimens of very beautiful wool with which you favoured me. My own time, however, is engaged from morning to night in discharging my public duties, and in arranging the new digest of Indian laws. I must therefore depend chiefly on others in procuring the information you are desirous of obtaining. Mr. Bebb, of the Board of Trade, and Colonel Kyd, who superintends the Company's garden, have promised to assist me. The wool of these provinces is too coarse to be of use; but that of Kerman in Persia, which you know by the name of *Carmanian* wool, is reckoned exquisitely fine, and you might, I suppose, procure the sheep from Bombay. The shawl goats would live, I imagine, and breed, in England; but it is no less difficult to procure the females from Cashmir, than to procure mares from Arabia. When you see Mr. Richardson, do me the favour to give him my best thanks for the parcel which he sent me by desire of the Highland Society.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO GEORGE HARDING, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR,

Chrishna-nagur, Oct. 16, 1791.

If the warmth of hearts were measured by the frequency of letters, my heart must be thought the coldest in the world: but you, I am confident, will never apply so fallacious a thermometer. In serious truth, I am, and must be, the worst of correspondents, for the following reasons among a hundred:—a strong glare and weak eyes; long tasks and short daylight; confinement in *court* six hours a day, and in my chambers three or four,—not to mention casual interruptions and engagements. You spoke so lightly of your complaint, that I thought it must be transient; and should have been extremely grieved if, in the very moment when I heard you had been seriously ill, I had not heard of your recovery.

Anna Maria has promised me to sail for Europe in January 1793; and I will follow her, when I can live as well in England on my private fortune as I can do here on half my salary. * * * * *

I cannot but like your sonnets; yet wish you would abstain from politics, which add very little to the graces of poetry.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

Chrishna-nagur, Oct. 18, 1791.

I thank you heartily for your kind letters; but perhaps I cannot express my thanks better than by answering them as exactly as I am able.

First, as to sending plants from India, I beg you to accept my excuses, and to make them to Sir George Young, for my apparent inattention to such commissions. In short, if you wish to transfer our Indian plants to the Western Islands, the Company must direct Kyd and

Roxburgh to send them, and their own captains to receive them and attend to them.

We are in sad want of a travelling botanist with some share of my poor friend Kœnig's knowledge and zeal. A stationary botanist would fix on the indigo-fera as the chief object of his care. Roxburgh will do much on the coast, if he can be relieved from his terrible headaches; but here we have no assistance.

I have neither eyes nor time for a botanist; yet with Lady Jones's assistance, I am continually advancing, and we have examined about 170 Linnæan *genera*. She brought home, a morning or two ago, the most lovely *epidendrum* that ever was seen; but the description of it would take up too much room in a letter: it grew on a lofty *amra*, but it is an air plant, and puts forth its fragrant enamelled blossoms in a pot, without earth or water; none of the many species of Linnæus corresponds exactly with it. You must not imagine that because I am, and shall be, saucy about the Linnæan language, that I have not the highest veneration for its great author; but I think his diction barbarous and pedantic,* particularly in his *Philosophia Botanica*, which I have a right to criticise, having read it three times with equal attention and pleasure. Had Van Rheede exhibited the Sanscrit names with accuracy, we should not be puzzled with reading the Indian poems and medical tracts; but in all

* [Sir William Jones had a stronger objection to the Linnæan nomenclature than its alleged barbarism and pedantry; for he says, in his dissertation on "The Plants of India," that on account of the allegorical representation adopted to explain the science, "no well-born and well-educated woman can be advised to amuse herself with botany as it is now explained, though a more elegant or delightful study, or one more likely to assist and embellish other female accomplishments, could not possibly be recommended."—S. C. W.]

his twelve volumes I have not found above ten or twelve names correctly expressed, either in Sanscrit or Arabic. I shall touch again on botany, but I proceed with your first letter. I have little knowledge of Yacob Bruce; but his five volumes, which I read aloud, (except some passages which I could only read with my eyes,) are so entertaining, that I wished for five more, and readily forgave not only his mistakes in the botanical language and in Arabic, but even his arrogance, which he carries *extra flammantia mœnia mundi*.

Keir's paper on distilling I never saw in print, though I must have heard it read by our secretary; but as the worthy author of it is in London, where probably you will have met him, he will satisfy you on the subject.

The *madhuca* is, beyond a doubt, the *bassia*; but I can safely assert, that not one of fifty blossoms which I have examined had sixteen filaments, eight above the throat, and eight within the tube. That Kœnig, whom I knew to be very accurate, had seen such a character, I doubt not; but he should not have set it down as constant. I frequently saw twenty-six and twenty-eight filaments, sometimes twelve, and the average was about twenty or twenty-two. By the way, my excellent friend, you will do us a capital service, either by printing Kœnig's manuscripts, or by sending us a copy of them; and we will send you in return, not only the correct Sanscrit names, but the plants themselves, at least the seeds, if you can prevail on any captain to take care of them. * * *

That the poem of Calidas entertained you, gives me great pleasure; but it diverts me extremely to hear from others, that the authenticity of the poem is doubted in England: but I am not sure that my own errors or inattention may not have occasioned mistakes. The use of the pollen in flowers is, I believe, well known to the Brah-

mans; but I am not sure that I have not added the epithet *prolific*, to distinguish it from common *dust*, which would have been the exact version of *renu*. The blue *nymphæa*, which I have sound reasons for believing the *lotus* of Egypt, is a native of Upper India; here we have only the white and rose-coloured. *Filament* is not used as a botanical word, but merely as a thread; and the filaments for the bracelet are drawn from the stalk of the *nymphæa*. The *hart*, properly so called, may not be a native of Bengal; but Calidas lived at Ugein, and lays his scene near the northern mountains. All the rest is clear: bears and boars, and all wild beasts, have been hunted here immemorially. The *cocila* sings charmingly here in the spring: Polier will shew you drawings of the male and female, but will perhaps call it *co-il*: the story of its eggs always struck me as very remarkable. The *amra* is *mangifera*; the mellica, I believe, *nyctanthes zambak*; the madhavi creeper, *banisteria*. The *ensa* I cannot see in blossom. The *swisha* is *mimosa odoratissima*; the pippála, *ficus religiosa*. If I recollect *lacsha*, it is not a plant, but *lac*. *Vana dosini* is a Sanscrit epithet of the *banisteria*.—As to nard, I know not what to say. If the Greeks meant only fragrant grass, we have nards in abundance,—*acorus*, *schoenus*, *andropogon*, *cyperus*, &c. But I have no evidence that they meant any such thing. On Arrian, or rather on Aristobulus, we cannot safely rely, as they place cinnamon in Arabia, and myrrh in Persia. Should any travelling botanist find the species of *andropogon* mentioned by Dr. Blane in the plains of Gedrosia, it would be some evidence, but would at the same time prove that it was not the Indian nard, which never was supposed to grow in Persia. As at present advised, I believe the Indian nard of the ancients to have been a valerian, at least the nard of Ptolemy, which is

brought from the very country mentioned by him as famed for the spikenard.

And now, my dear Sir Joseph, I have gone through both your letters: I am, for many good reasons, a bad correspondent, but principally because the discharge of my public duties leaves me no more time than is sufficient for necessary refreshments and relaxation.

The last twenty years of my life I shall spend, I trust, in a studious retreat; and if you know of a pleasant country-house to be disposed of in your part of Middlesex,* with pasture-ground for my cattle, and garden-ground enough for my amusement, have the goodness to inform me of it. I shall be happy in being your neighbour, and, though I write little now, will talk then as much as you please.

I believe I shall send a box of inestimable manuscripts, Sanscrit and Arabic, to your friendly care. If I return to England, you will restore them to me; if I die in my voyage to China, or my journey through Persia, you will dispose of them as you please.† Wherever I may die, I shall be, while I live, my dear sir, &c.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR,

Chrishna-nagur, Oct. 20, 1791.

Before you can receive this, you will, I doubt not, have obtained a complete triumph over your persecutors; and your character will have risen, not brighter indeed, but

* [Spring Grove; now the residence of Henry Pownall, Esq.—S. C. W.]

† The MSS. here alluded to, after the demise of Sir William Jones, were presented, together with another large collection of Eastern MSS., to the Royal Society, by Lady Jones. A catalogue, compiled by Mr. Wilkins, is inserted in the sixth volume of Sir William Jones's Works.

more conspicuously bright, from the furnace of their persecution. Happy should I be if I could congratulate you in person on your victory; but though I have a fortune in England which might satisfy a man of letters, yet I have not enough to establish that absolute independence which has been the chief end and aim of my life; and I must stay in this country a few years longer. Lady Jones has however promised me to take her passage for Europe in January 1793, and I will follow her when I can. She is pretty well, and presents her kindest remembrance to you and Mrs. Hastings, whom I thank most heartily for a very obliging and elegant letter. My own health has, by God's blessing, been very firm; but my eyes are weak, and I have constantly employed them eight or nine hours a day. My principal amusement is botany, and the conversation of the pundits, with whom I talk fluently in the language of the *Gods*; and my business, besides the discharge of my public duties, is the translation of Menu, and of the digest which has been compiled at my instance. Our Society still subsists, and the Third volume of their transactions is so far advanced, that it will certainly be published next season. Samuel Davis has translated the *Surya Siddanta*, and is making discoveries in Indian astronomy; while Wilford is pursuing his geographical enquiries at Benares, and has found, or thinks he has found, an account of Africa and Europe, and even of *Britain* by name, in the Scanda Puran: he has sent us a chart of the Nile from Sanscrit authorities, and I expect soon to receive his proofs and illustrations. Of public affairs in India I say little, because I can say nothing with certainty: the seasons and elements have been adverse to us in Mysore.—Farewell, my dear sir, and believe me to be, with unfeigned regard, your faithful and obedient

WILLIAM JONES.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

Calcutta, Nov. 19, 1791.

Since I sent my letter to the packet of the Queen, I received the inclosed from a Hindu of my acquaintance, and I send his *cusha* flowers, which I have not eyes to examine, especially in a season of business. The leaves are very long, with a point excessively long and fine; their edges are rough downwards, in other respects smooth. As this plant is to my knowledge celebrated in the Veda, I am very desirous of knowing its Linnæan name. I cannot find it in Van Rheeде.

* * * *

The frequent allusions in these letters to local or botanical subjects may render them particularly interesting only to the friends and correspondents of Sir William Jones, but they describe his occupations and contain his mind, which I wish to display; they exhibit a warmth of affection for his friends, upright principles, a manly independence, and a desire of honourable distinction, combined with a contempt for all ambition incompatible with his public character. The frequent mention of the work which he had undertaken is equally a proof of his opinion of the importance of it, and of his solicitude to make it as perfect as possible.

The manner in which he mentions the Travels of Mr. Bruce, shews that he was not one of the sceptics who doubted of his veracity. In a paper which he presented to the Society in Calcutta, he recites a conversation with a native of Abyssinia, who had seen and known Mr. Bruce at Gwender, and who spoke of him in very honourable terms. At the period of this conversation the Travels were not published; but it was too particular and descriptive to leave room for doubt as to the identity of

Mr. Bruce, and of his having passed some years in Abyssinia.

Of the correspondence of Sir William Jones in 1792, if it were not altogether suspended by his more important studies and avocations, no part has been communicated to me. In March 1793, I returned to Bengal with a commission to succeed Marquis Cornwallis in his station of Governor-general whenever he thought proper to relinquish it; and I had the satisfaction to find my friend, although somewhat debilitated by the climate, in a state of health which promised a longer duration of his life than it pleased Providence to assign to him. The ardour of his mind had suffered no abatement, and his application was unremitted. The completion of the work which he had undertaken occupied the principal portion of his leisure; and the remainder of his time which could be spared was, as usual, devoted to literary and scientific pursuits. Botanical researches occasionally diverted his hours of relaxation, but he found impediments to them from the weakness of his sight and heat of the climate.

The constitution of Lady Jones, which was naturally delicate, had suffered so much from repeated attacks of indisposition, that a change of climate had long been prescribed by the physicians as the only means of preserving her life; but her affectionate attachment to her husband had hitherto induced her to remain in India, in opposition to this advice, though with the full conviction that the recovery of her health, in any considerable degree, was impossible. She knew that the obligation which he had voluntarily contracted, to translate the digest of Hindu and Mohammedan laws, was the only, though insuperable obstacle to his accompanying her; and his entreaties were necessary to gain her reluctant assent to undertake the voyage without his society. In the course of his corre-

spondence, we trace his ardour to explore the new objects of investigation which increasing knowledge had discovered to him, and an intention to pursue the line of his researches through Persia or China, by a circuitous route to his native country ; and at an earlier period, when the extent of the field of investigation appeared boundless, he had declared his determination to remain in India until the close of the century, if it should please God to prolong his life. But affection set limits to his zeal for knowledge ; and when it was finally settled that Lady Jones should return to England, he determined himself to follow her in the ensuing season, hoping by this period to have discharged his engagements with the government of India. She embarked in December 1793.

In the beginning of 1794, Sir William Jones published a work in which he had long been engaged—a translation of the Ordinances of Menu, comprising the Indian system of duties, religious and civil. This task was suggested by the same motives which had induced him to undertake the compilation of the digest—to aid the benevolent intentions of the legislature of Great Britain in securing to the natives of India the administration of justice, to a certain extent, by their own laws. Menu is esteemed by the Hindûs the first of created beings, and not the oldest only, but the holiest, of legislators ; and his system is so comprehensive and so minutely exact, that it may be considered as an institute of Hindu law, prefatory to the more copious digest.

This work, to use the words of the translator, contains abundance of curious matter, extremely interesting both to speculative lawyers and antiquaries, with many beauties which need not be pointed out, and with many blemishes which cannot be justified or palliated. It is indeed a system of despotism and priestcraft, both limited

by law, but artfully conspiring to give mutual support, though with mutual checks : it is filled with strange conceits in metaphysics and natural philosophy, with idle superstitions, and with a scheme of theology most obscurely figurative, and consequently liable to dangerous misconception ; it abounds with minute and childish formalities, with ceremonies generally absurd, and often ridiculous ; the punishments are partial and painful, for some crimes dreadfully cruel, for others reprehensibly slight ; and the very morals, though rigid enough on the whole, are in one or two instances (as in the case of light oaths and pious perjury) unaccountably relaxed : nevertheless, a spirit of sublime devotion, of benevolence to mankind, and of amiable tenderness to all creatures, pervades the whole work ; the style of it has a certain austere majesty, that sounds like the language of legislation, and extorts a respectful awe ; the sentiments of independence upon all things but God, and the harsh admonitions even to kings, are truly noble ; and the many panegyrics on the Gayatri, the mother, as it is called, of the Vedâ, prove the author to have adored, not the visible material sun, but that divine and incomparably greater Light, to use the words of the most venerable text in the Indian Scripture, which *illuminates all, delights all, from which all proceed, to which all must return, and which can alone irradiate*, not our visual organs, but our souls and our intellects.

This appreciation of a work which had occupied so large a portion of his time and attention, affords a proof of the judgment and candour of Sir William Jones. The ordinances of Menu are by no means calculated for general reading ; but they exhibit the manners of a remarkable people in a remote age, and unfold the principles of the moral and religious systems to which the

Hindûs have invariably adhered, notwithstanding their long subjection to a foreign dominion.

I now present to the reader the last letter which I received from Sir William Jones, written two months before the departure of Lady Jones from India :—

MY DEAR SIR,

A few days after I troubled you about the yacht, I felt a severe pang on hearing of your domestic misfortune; and I felt more for you than I should for most men on so melancholy an occasion, because I well know the sensibility of your heart. The only topic of consolation happily presented itself to you: reason perhaps might convince us, that the death of a created being never happens without the will of the Creator, who governs this world by a special interposition of his providential care; but, as this is a truth which Revelation expressly teaches us, our only true comfort in affliction must be derived from Christian philosophy, which is so far from encouraging us to stifle our natural feelings, that even the Divine Author of it wept on the death of a friend. This doctrine, though superfluous to you, is always present to my mind; and I shall have occasion in a few years, by the course of nature, to press it on the mind of Lady Jones, the great age of whose mother is one of my reasons for hoping most anxiously that nothing may prevent her returning to England this season. * * I will follow her as soon as I can, possibly at the beginning of 1795, but probably not till the season after that; for although I shall have more than enough to supply all the wants of a man who would rather have been Cincinnatus with his plough than Lucullus with all his wealth, yet I wish to complete the system of Indian laws while I remain in India, because I wish to perform whatever I

promise with the least possible imperfection; and in so difficult a work, doubts might arise, which the pundits alone could remove. You continue, I hope, to find the gardens healthy: nothing can be more pleasant than the house in which we live; but it might justly be called the temple of the winds, especially as it has an octagonal form, like that erected at Athens to those boisterous divinities. I cannot get rid of the rheumatism which their keen breath has given me; and submit with reluctance to the necessity of wrapping myself in shawls and flannel. We continue to be charmed with the perspicuity, moderation, and eloquence of Filangieri.

Of European politics I think as little as possible; not because they do not interest my heart, but because they give me too much pain. I have "good-will towards men, and wish peace on earth;" but I see chiefly under the sun the two classes of men whom Solomon describes, the oppressor and the oppressed. I have no fear in England of open despotism, nor of anarchy. I shall cultivate my fields and gardens, and think as little as possible of monarchs or oligarchs.—I am, &c.

* * * * *

It would not be easy to give expression to the feelings excited by the perusal of this letter, nine years after the date of it. In recalling the memory of domestic misfortunes which time had nearly obliterated, it revives with new force the recollection of that friend whose sympathy endeavoured to soothe the sorrows of a father for the loss of his children. The transition by Sir William Jones to the circumstances of his own situation is natural; and the conjugal bosom may perhaps sympathise with a fond husband, anticipating the affliction of the wife of his affection, and his own efforts to console her: that wife however still survives to lament her irreparable loss in

the death of Sir William Jones himself, and has had, for some years, the happiness to console, by the tenderest assiduities, the increasing infirmities of an aged mother.*

The friends of Religion, who know the value of the "sure and certain hopes" which it inspires, will remark with satisfaction the pious sentiments expressed by Sir William Jones a few months only before his own death. They will recollect the determination which he formed in youth, to examine with attention the evidence of our holy Religion, and will rejoice to find unprejudiced enquiry terminating, as might be expected, in a rational conviction of its truth and Divine authority.

Of this conviction, his publications, though none of them were professedly religious, afford ample and indubitable testimony; and I cannot deem it a superfluous task (to me, indeed, it will be most grateful) to select from them, and from such other materials as I possess, his opinions on a subject of undeniable importance.

Amongst the papers written by Sir William Jones, I find the following prayer, composed by him on the first day of the year 1782, about fifteen months before his embarkation for India, and more than twelve years before his death.†

A PRAYER.

Jan. 1, 1782.

Eternal and Incomprehensible *Mind*, who, by thy boundless *power*, before time began, createdst innumerable *worlds* for thy *glory*, and innumerable orders of *beings* for their *happiness*, which thy infinite *goodness*

* Mrs. Shipley died on the 9th of March 1803, in her 87th year. She retained all her faculties to that prolonged period.

† [At page 33 of the Editor's Life of Lord Teignmouth, will be found an allusion to a prayer which Mr. Granville Sharp presented to Sir William before his leaving England, with their conversation upon the occasion.—S. C. W.]

prompted Thee to desire, and thy infinite Wisdom enabled Thee to know: We, thy *creatures*, vanish into nothing before thy Supreme Majesty; we hourly feel our *weakness*; we daily bewail our *vices*; we continually acknowledge our *folly*; Thee only we *adore* with awful veneration; Thee we *thank* with the most fervent zeal; Thee we *praise* with astonishment and rapture; to thy *power* we humbly submit; of thy *goodness* we devoutly implore protection; on thy *wisdom* we firmly and cheerfully rely. We do but open our *eyes*, and instantly we perceive thy divine existence; we do but exert our *reason*, and in a moment we discover thy divine *attributes*: But our *eyes* could not behold thy *splendour*, nor could our *minds* comprehend thy divine *essence*; we *see* Thee *only* through thy stupendous and all-perfect *works*; we *know* Thee *only* by that ray of sacred light which it has pleased Thee to reveal: Nevertheless, if creatures too *ignorant* to *conceive*, and too *depraved* to *pursue*, the means of their own happiness, may, without presumption, express their wants to their CREATOR, let us humbly supplicate Thee to remove from us that *evil*, which Thou hast permitted for a *time* to exist, that the *ultimate good* of all may be complete, and to secure us from that *vice*, which Thou sufferest to spread snares around us, that the triumph of virtue may be more conspicuous. Irradiate our minds with all *useful truth*; instil into our hearts a spirit of *general benevolence*; give *understanding* to the foolish; *meekness* to the proud; *temperance* to the dissolute; *fortitude* to the feeble-hearted; *hope* to the desponding; *faith* to the unbelieving; *diligence* to the slothful; *patience* to those who are in *pain*; and thy celestial aid to those who are in *danger*: comfort the *afflicted*; relieve the *distressed*; supply the *hungry* with salutary food, and the *thirsty* with a plentiful stream. Impute not our *doubts* to

indifference, nor our *slowness of belief to hardness of heart*; but be indulgent to our *imperfect nature*, and supply our *imperfections* by thy *heavenly favour*. "Suffer not, we anxiously pray, suffer not *oppression* to prevail over *innocence*, nor the *might* of the *avenger* over the *weakness* of the *just*." Whenever we address Thee in our retirement from the vanities of the world, if our prayers are *foolish*, *pity* us; if *presumptuous*, *pardon* us; if acceptable to Thee, grant them, All-powerful GOD, grant them: And, as with our *living* voice, and with our *dying* lips, we will express our submission to thy *decrees*, adore thy *providence*, and bless thy *dispensations*; so, in all *future* states, to which we reverently hope thy *goodness* will raise us, grant that we may continue *praising*, *admiring*, *venerating*, *worshipping* Thee more and more, through *worlds* without *number*, and *ages* without *end*!

I do not adduce this prayer as evidence of the belief of Sir William Jones in the doctrines of JESUS CHRIST; although I think that such a composition could hardly have been framed by an unbeliever in the Gospel; or, if this be deemed possible, that a mind capable of feeling the sentiments which it expresses, could long have withholden its assent to the truths of Revelation. It is evidently the effusion of a pious mind, deeply impressed with an awful sense of the infinite wisdom, power, and benevolence of his Creator, and of the ignorance, weakness, and depravity of human nature; sentiments which reason and experience strongly suggest, and which Revelation expressly teaches. Let it be remembered, that long before this prayer was written, Sir William Jones had demonstrated* to his own satisfaction, that JESUS was the MESSIAH predicted by the Prophets; that amongst

* Memoirs, page 164.

his projected occupations in India, one* was to translate the Psalms into Persic, and the Gospel of Luke into Arabic,—a design which could only have originated in his conviction of the importance and inspiration of these divine books; that in the year after the date of the prayer, we have a direct and public avowal of his belief in the divinity of our SAVIOUR ;† and again in the next, another prayer by him, expressing his exclusive reliance on the merits of his REDEEMER for his acceptance with God.‡

Amongst the publications of Sir William Jones in which his religious sentiments are expressed, I shall first notice, *A Dissertation on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India*, written in 1784, but revised and printed in 1786, in which the following passage occurs:—"Disquisitions concerning the manners and conduct of our species in early times, or indeed at any time, are always curious at least, and amusing; but they are highly interesting to such as can say of themselves, with Chremes in the play, 'We are men, and take an interest in all that relates to mankind.' They may even be of solid importance in an age when some intelligent and virtuous persons are inclined to doubt the authenticity of accounts delivered by Moses concerning the primitive world; *since no modes or sources of reasoning can be unimportant which have a tendency to remove such doubts.* Either the first eleven chapters of Genesis (all due allowances being made for a figurative Eastern style) are true, or the whole fabric of our national religion is false; a conclusion which none of us, I trust, would wish to be drawn. I, *who cannot help believing the divinity* of the MESSIAH, from the undisputed antiquity and manifest completion of many prophecies, especially those of Isaiah, in the

* Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 7.

† Ibid. p. 10.

‡ Ibid. p. 30.

only person recorded by history to whom they are applicable, am obliged of course to believe the sanctity of the venerable books to which that sacred person refers as genuine : but it is not the truth of our national Religion, as such, that I have at heart—it is truth itself ; and if any cool, unbiassed reader will clearly convince me, that Moses drew his narrative, through Egyptian conduits, from the primeval fountains of Indian literature, I shall esteem him as a friend for having weeded my mind from a capital error, and promise to stand among the foremost in assisting to circulate the truth which he has ascertained. After such a declaration, I cannot but persuade myself, that no candid man will be displeased, if, in the course of my work, I make as free with any arguments that he may have advanced, as I should really desire him to do with any of mine that he may be disposed to controvert."

Let not the candour of the declaration contained in the preceding quotation alarm the serious Christian ; the fair inference to be drawn from it is this,—that Sir William Jones was incapable of affirming what he did not fully believe ; and the avowal of his faith in the divinity of our SAVIOUR is therefore to be received as decisive evidence of the sincerity of his belief ;—indeed his declaration may be considered as the proof of his faith, and his faith to be grounded in proportion to the openness of his declaration. That any reasoner could convince him that Moses had borrowed his narrative from Indian sources, he never for a moment supposed ; and if a doubt could be entertained on this subject, another passage in the same dissertation must at once annihilate it. He had indeed no hesitation to acknowledge his persuasion that a connexion subsisted between the old idolatrous nations of Egypt, India, Greece, and Italy, long before

they migrated to their several settlements, and consequently before the birth of Moses ; but he was equally persuaded that the truth of the proposition could in no degree affect the veracity and sanctity of the Mosaic history, which, if any confirmation of it were necessary, it would rather tend to confirm.

“The divine legate,” (I now quote his words,) “educated by the daughter of a king, and in all respects highly accomplished, could not but know the mythological system of Egypt ; but he must have condemned the superstitions of that people, and despised the speculative absurdities of their priests, though some of their traditions concerning the creation and the flood were founded on truth. Who was better acquainted with the mythology of Athens than Socrates ? who more accurately versed in the rabbinical doctrines than Paul ? Who possessed clearer ideas of all ancient astronomical systems than Newton ; or of scholastic metaphysics, than Locke ? In whom could the Romish Church have had a more formidable opponent than in Chillingworth, whose deep knowledge of its tenets rendered him so competent to dispute them ? In a word, who more exactly knew the abominable rites and shocking idolatry of Canaan than Moses himself ? Yet the learning of those great men only incited them to seek other sources of truth, piety, and virtue, than those in which they had long been immersed. There is no shadow, then, of a foundation for an opinion that Moses borrowed the first nine or ten chapters of Genesis from the literature of Egypt ; still less can the adamantine pillars of our Christian faith be moved by the result of any debates on the comparative antiquity of the Hindûs and Egyptians, or of any enquiries into the Indian theology.”

From the same dissertation I select another passage,

which, from its importance, is entitled to particular notice, while it evinces the solicitude of Sir William Jones to correct a misconception, which, in my opinion, has been idly and injudiciously brought forward to support a fundamental tenet of Evangelical Revelation.

“ Very respectable natives have assured me, that one or two missionaries have been absurd enough, in their zeal for the conversion of the Gentiles, to urge, that the Hindûs were even now almost Christians, because their Bramha, Vishnu, and Mahesa, were no other than the Christian Trinity ; a sentence in which we can only doubt whether folly, ignorance, or impiety predominates.”

The three Hindu deities were perhaps originally personifications only of the *creating*, *preserving*, and *destroying*, or, as it may be understood, the *re-producing* power of the Supreme Being. By the bulk of the people they are considered as distinct personages, each invested with divine attributes ; and the mythological writings of the Hindûs contain most ample and absurd histories of them ; but in the *Vedanti* philosophy, which is evidently Platonic, the Almighty, known by the mystical and incommunicable appellation of O'M, is the only being, and all others, including Bramha, Vishnu, and Mahesa, are only the creatures of idea or perception, which will perish in the general annihilation, whilst O'M alone survives through all eternity.* Thus, whether we consider the

* On this subject I shall take the liberty to quote some curious passages from a translation of a Persic version of the Yoog Vashesti, a very ancient composition in Sanscrit. There are several Persian versions of this work ; but many pages of that from which the present translation is given were compared with the original Sanscrit, and found to be substantially accurate.

“ The instability of the world, and of everything contained in it, is certain ; hence it will one day happen that the evil deities, who are

vulgar opinion respecting these three divinities, or that of the Vedanti sect, nothing (to use the words of Sir William Jones) can be more evident than “that the Indian triad, and that of Plato, which he calls the *Supreme Good*, the reason and the soul, are infinitely removed from the holiness and sublimity of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity; and that the tenet of our Church cannot without profaneness be compared with that of the Hindûs, which has an apparent resemblance to it, but a very different meaning.”

At the end of the same treatise Sir William Jones enumerates the *sad obstacles* to the extension of our “*pure faith*” in Hindustan, and concludes as follows:—

“The only human mode perhaps of causing so great a revolution, is to translate into Sanscrit and Persian such chapters of the Prophets, and particularly Isaiah, as are

now so powerful, shall fall into annihilation, and the Debtas, distinguished by the title of *Amrit*, or immortal, shall perish. The Berm-hand, on which all nature depends for existence, shall be broken; and not a trace remain of Bramha, Vishnu, or Siva. Time, having annihilated all, shall *himself* perish.

“Bramha, Vishnu, and Mahdeva, notwithstanding their *exalted dignity*, fall into the jaws of inexistence.”

“You are not to consider Vishnu, Bramha, or Mahdeva, and other incorporate beings, as the deity, although they have each the denomination of deva, or divine; these are all created, whilst the Supreme Being is without beginning or end, unformed and uncreated;—worship and adore him.”

“The worship which is paid to the inferior deities and the representations of them proceeds from this: Mankind in general are more affected by appearances than realities; the former they comprehend, but the latter are difficult to be understood. Hence learned tutors first place figures before them, that their minds may be composed, and conducted by degrees to the essential Unity who survives the annihilation, when the Debtas and all created existence are dissolved and absorbed into his essence.”

indisputably evangelical, together with one of the Gospels, and a plain prefatory discourse, containing full evidence of the very distant ages in which the predictions themselves, and the history of the *divine person* predicted, were severally made public; and then quietly to disperse the work among the well-educated natives, with whom if in due time it failed of promoting very salutary fruit by its natural influence, we could only lament more than ever the strength of prejudice and weakness of unassisted reason."*

That the conversion of the Hindûs to the Christian religion would have afforded him the sincerest pleasure, may be fairly inferred from the above passage; his wish that it should take place is still more clearly expressed in the following quotation from one of his Hymns to *Lacshmi*, the Ceres of India, and a personification of the Divine Goodness. After describing most feelingly and poetically the horrid effects of famine in India, he thus concludes the hymn:—

From ills that, painted, harrow up the breast,
 (What agonies, if real, must they give!)
 Preserve thy vot'ries: be their labours blest!
 Oh! bid the patient Hindu rise and live.
 His erring mind, that wizzard lore beguiles,
 Clouded by priestly wiles,

* [And, blessed be God! this has been already done to an extent immeasurably beyond all that Sir William Jones ever ventured to anticipate, and chiefly by the instrumentality of that cosmopolitan institution over which his friend Lord Teignmouth was long spared to preside. At this moment, in the room where the writer is penning this note, he sees ranged in long files on his shelves copies of between sixty and seventy versions of Holy Scripture, the labours, in whole or in part, of this society; and there are various others not in his collection. Such a result, in so short a time, and from such feeble beginnings, is all but miraculous. Surely the finger of God is here. —S. C. W.]

To senseless nature bows for nature's God.
 Now, stretch'd o'er Ocean's vast, from happier isles,
 He sees the wand of empire, not the rod :
Ah ! may those beams that Western skies illumine,
Disperse th' unholy gloom !
 Meanwhile, may laws, by myriads long revered,
 Their strife appease, their gentler claims decide !
 So shall their victors, mild with virtuous pride,
 To many a cherish'd, grateful race endear'd,
 With temper'd love be fear'd ;
 Though mists profane obscure their narrow ken,
 They err, yet feel, though Pagans, they are men.

The testimony of Sir William Jones to the verity and authenticity of the Old and New Testament is well known, from the care with which it has been circulated in England ; but as it has a particular claim to be inserted in the memoirs of his life, I transcribe it from his own manuscript in his Bible :—

“ I have carefully and regularly perused these Holy Scriptures, and am of opinion, that the volume, independently of its Divine origin, contains more sublimity, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains of eloquence, than can be collected from all other books, in whatever language they may have been written.”

This opinion is repeated, with little variation of expression, in a discourse addressed to the Society, in February 1791 :—

“ Theological enquiries are no part of my present subject ; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts which we call, from their excellence, *the Scriptures*, contain, independently of a Divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass from all other books that were ever composed in any

age or in any idiom. The two parts of which the Scriptures consist, are connected by a chain of compositions which bear no resemblance in form or style to any that can be produced from the stores of Grecian, Indian, Persian, or even Arabian learning: the antiquity of those compositions no man doubts; and the unstrained application of them to events long subsequent to their publication, is a solid ground of belief that they were genuine compositions, and consequently inspired. But if anything be the absolute exclusive property of each individual, it is his belief; and I hope I should be one of the last men living who could harbour a thought of obtruding my own belief on the free minds of others."

In his discourse of the following year, we find him again mentioning the Mosaic history, under a supposition, assumed for the sake of the argument which he was discussing, that it had no higher authority than any other book of history which the researches of the curious had accidentally brought to light.

"On this supposition," (I quote his own words,) "that the first eleven chapters of the book which it is thought proper to call Genesis are merely a preface to the oldest civil history now extant, we see the truth of them confirmed by antecedent reasoning, and by evidence in part highly probable, and in part certain." But that no misconception might be entertained on this awful subject by the ignorant, and to avoid the possibility of any perverse misapplication of his sentiments, he adds: "But the *connexion* of the Mosaic history with that of the Gospel, by a chain of sublime predictions unquestionably ancient, and apparently* fulfilled, must induce us to think the He-

* I could wish that Sir William Jones had retained the expression which he before used when discussing the same topic, as the word *apparently* may seem to imply a less degree of conviction than

brew narrative more than human in its origin, and consequently true in every substantial part of it, though possibly expressed in figurative language, as many learned and pious men have believed, and as the most pious may believe without injury, and perhaps with advantage to the cause of Revealed Religion." *

he actually possessed, as the tenor and terms of the passages which I have quoted indisputably prove. The sense in which it is to be understood is that of *manifestly*; his reasoning plainly requires it.

* [Lord Teignmouth has here omitted a curious passage which appeared in the first edition of his work. He there stated, that the third volume of the Asiatic Researches contains a learned and elaborate treatise on Egypt and the Nile, compiled by Lieutenant Wilford, from the ancient books of the Hindoos, in which occurs a remarkable passage, so clearly descriptive of Noah, under the name of Satyavrata, or Satyavarman, that it is impossible to doubt the identity. His Lordship appends some remarks of Sir William Jones's upon the passage, in which Sir William says: "The conciseness and simplicity of this narrative are excelled by the Mosaic relation of the same adventure; but whatever may be our opinion of the old India style, this extract most clearly proves that the Satyavrata or Satyavarman of the Parans was the same person, as has been asserted in a former publication, with the Noah of Scripture."

Such is Lord Teignmouth's statement in the text of his first edition; but before the work was published he was in time to notify in his preface, that both Jones and Wilford had been imposed upon, for that the passage was a forgery; a learned Hindoo, who assisted Lieutenant Wilford in his investigation, having dexterously introduced a spurious sheet, discoloured and prepared for the purpose of deception, into a Sanscrit manuscript, where Wilford saw it, carefully read it, and having so done, communicated an account of the discovery to Sir William Jones. Had Sir William himself seen the manuscript, he would probably have detected the forgery, as he did in a similar instance already related, page 112. The interpolated passage having served the intended purpose, the Hindoo secretly withdrew it; and when Wilford some time after wished to collate it, he discovered the fraud which had been practised.

Why it was that Lord Teignmouth dropped all mention of this

In his tenth discourse, in 1793, he mentions, with a satisfaction which every pious mind must enjoy, the result of the enquiries of the Society over which he presided.

“In the first place, we cannot surely deem it an inconsiderable advantage, that all our historical researches have confirmed the Mosaic accounts of the primitive world; and our testimony on that subject ought to have the greater weight, because, if the result of our observations had been totally different, we should nevertheless have published them, not indeed with equal pleasure, but with equal confidence; for *truth is mighty*, and whatever be its consequences, *must always prevail*: but independently of our interest in corroborating the multiplied evidences of Revealed Religion, we could scarcely gratify our minds with a more useful and rational entertainment than the contemplation of those wonderful revolutions in kingdoms and states which have happened within little

story in the subsequent editions of his work, I am not aware. He perhaps considered it irrelevant as the passage on which Sir William commented was nullified; or he possibly thought that an unfair use might be made of the circumstance by evil-minded persons, who might adduce it to throw suspicion on the collateral proofs of scriptural facts from heathen sources, or to invalidate the judgment of Sir William Jones and others, who have urged such arguments for the confirmation of Sacred Writ. I think, however, that as his Lordship had once alluded to the subject, it would have been better not to have silently passed it by in subsequent editions: first, because truth is always better than error; and secondly, because the spurious passage being extant in the Asiatic Researches, and having been often quoted or alluded to in books and sermons, with Sir William Jones's remarks upon it, it is right that the real facts should be known, in order both that Christians may not inadvertently urge what is untenable, and that infidelity may not triumph by exposing the facts, either pretending that Christians knew them and fraudulently concealed them, or that if they did not know them, they showed an eagerness to catch at straws, as if they lacked weightier arguments. If *this* edition shall fall into the hands of any infidel, he

more than four thousand years ; revolutions almost as fully demonstrative of an all-ruling Providence, as the structure of the universe, and the final causes which are discernible in its whole extent, and even in its remotest parts."

The preceding quotations sufficiently demonstrate the sentiments of Sir William Jones on the subject of Revelation, and they may be fairly considered as evincing an anxiety on his part to impress his own belief on others ; for the very expressions which may seem to imply hesitation or indifference in his mind, are particularly adapted to enforce conviction on those to whom they were addressed. It is worthy of remark, that the reflections in many of the passages cited, although such as would naturally occur to a believer in the Scriptures, are not necessarily called for by the subject under his discussion, and could only proceed from his zeal in the investigation

shall not be furnished with this slippery weapon. Wilford was deceived, and Sir William Jones was deceived, and others on their testimony have been deceived, respecting this foisted passage : all this is freely admitted,—but what then ? Suppose that even a score such deceptions had been practised, what would this weigh against the overwhelming mass of evidence by which Christianity is corroborated ? Does any person doubt that Milton wrote *Paradise Lost*, or Shakspeare the tragedies of *Macbeth* and *King Lear*, because impudent literary forgeries have been palmed upon the world under their name ? The Christian needs not fear to give up, not only all that is proved to be untrue, but all that is even dubious ; for the Gospel of our Redeemer reposes too strongly in its own strength to ask for any buttresses which themselves stand upon a hollow foundation. If any true believer is so weak or ignorant as to feel alarmed when he hears of the detection of frauds, lest the word of God should lose any of its proofs, it should be a source of repose to him to know that the most eminent scholars who have investigated everything relative to the sacred text have proved that there is not a single scrap of mistake or forgery which affects directly or indirectly the doctrines or precepts of the Bible, or the proofs of its Divine origin.—S. C. W.]

and propagation of truth. This was the fixed object of his whole life, as he has himself declared in the following elegant couplets :—

Before thy mystic altar, heav'nly Truth,
I kneel in manhood, as I knelt in youth.
Thus let me kneel, till this dull form decay,
And life's last shade be brighten'd by thy ray :
Then shall my soul, now lost in clouds below,
Soar without bound, without consuming glow.*

A disciple of Voltaire would have omitted the observations made by Sir William Jones, or have tortured the premises on which they are founded into the service of infidelity ; nor would he have declared that, "in order to enlighten the minds of the ignorant, and to enforce the obedience of the perverse, it is evident *à priori*, that a Revealed Religion was necessary to the great system of Providence."†

The mind of Sir William Jones was never tainted with infidelity ; but there was a period, as I have already observed, before his judgment was matured, and before he had studied the Scriptures with close attention, when his belief in the truth of Revelation was tinged with doubts. But these were the transient clouds which for a while obscure the dawn and disperse with the rising sun. His heart and his judgment told him, that Religion was a subject of supreme importance, and the evidence of its truth worthy his most serious investigation. He sat down to it without prejudice, and rose from the inquiry with a conviction, which the studies of his future life invigorated

* These lines were written by Sir William Jones in Berkley's *Siris* : they are, in fact, a beautiful version of the last sentence of the *Siris*, amplified and adapted to himself : "He that would make real progress in knowledge, must dedicate his age as well as youth, the latter growth as well as the first fruits, at the altar of Truth."

† Works, vol. i. p. 169.

and confirmed. The completion of the prophecies relating to our Saviour had impressed upon his youthful mind this invaluable truth—that the language of Isaiah and of the Prophets was inspired; and in this belief, to which fresh proofs were progressively added, he closed his life. He has, I trust, received, through the merits of his REDEEMER, the reward of his faith.

In matters of eternal concern, the authority of the highest human opinions has no claim to be admitted as a ground of belief, but it may with the strictest propriety be opposed to that of men of inferior learning and penetration; and, whilst the pious derive satisfaction from the perusal of sentiments according with their own, those who doubt or disbelieve should be induced to weigh with candour and impartiality arguments which have produced conviction in the minds of the best, the wisest, and most learned of mankind.

Among such as have professed a steady belief in the doctrine of Christianity, where shall greater names be found than those of Bacon and Newton? Of the former, and of Locke, it may be observed, that they were both innovators in science; disdaining to follow the sages of antiquity through the beaten paths of error, they broke through prejudices which had long obstructed the progress of sound knowledge, and laid the foundation of science on solid ground; whilst the genius of Newton carried him *extra flammantia mœnia mundi*. These men, to their great praise, and we may hope to their eternal happiness, devoted much of their time to the study of the Scriptures: if the evidence of Revelation had been weak, who were better qualified to expose its unsoundness? If our national faith were a mere fable, a political super-

stition, why were minds which boldly destroyed prejudices in Science blind to those in Religion? They read, examined, weighed, and believed; and the same vigorous intellect that dispersed the mists which concealed the temple of human knowledge, was itself illuminated with the radiant truths of Divine Revelation.

Such authorities (and let me now add to them the name of Sir William Jones,) are deservedly entitled to great weight: let those who superciliously reject them compare their intellectual powers, their scientific attainments, and vigour of application, with those of the men whom I have named; the comparison may perhaps lead them to suspect that their incredulity (to adopt the idea of a profound scholar) may be the result of a little smattering in learning and great self-conceit, and that by harder study, and a humbled mind, they may regain the religion which they have left.

I shall not apologize for the extracts which I have introduced from the works of Sir William Jones, nor for the reflections to which they have naturally led. The former display that part of his character, which alone is now important to his happiness; and I am authorised to add, not only from what appears in his printed works and private memoranda—in more than one of which, containing a delineation of his daily occupations, I find a portion of time allotted to the perusal of the Scriptures—but from private and satisfactory testimony, that the writings of our best divines engaged a large share of his attention, and that private devotion was not neglected by him. The following lines, which afford a proof both of his taste and piety, were written by him after a perusal of the

eighth sermon of Barrow, in his retirement at Chrishnagur, in 1786 ; and with these I shall conclude my observations on his religious opinions :—

As meadows parch'd, brown groves, and withering flow'rs,
 Imbibe the sparkling dew and genial show'rs ;
 As chill dark air inhales the morning beam,
 As thirsty harts enjoy the gelid stream :
 Thus to man's grateful soul from heav'n descend
 The mercies of his FATHER, LORD, and FRIEND.

CHAPTER XV.

A. D. 1794.

His last days ;—much depressed after the departure of Lady Jones ;
 —attacked with internal inflammation, which terminates fatally ;
 —unfounded anecdote respecting his death :—his funeral ;—his
 character ;—his extraordinary talents ;—his philological attain-
 ments ;—his studies turned to practical account ;—analysis of his
 discourses before the Asiatic Society on the origin of the nations
 of India ;—his style ;—his legal publications ;—his political doc-
 trines ;—his attachment to liberty ;—his integrity as a judge ;—
 his general attainments ;—his diligence and husbandry of time ;—
 his Oriental literary projects ;—his social virtues ;—his sensi-
 bility ;—his filial and fraternal excellences ;—his intercourse with
 the natives of India ;—epitaph written by him for himself ;—
 his posthumous honours ;—his monuments at St. Paul's Cathed-
 ral and at University College, Oxford ;—completion of the digest
 of Hindoo law by Colebrooke.

I now turn to the last scene of the life of Sir William Jones. The few months allotted to his existence after the departure of Lady Jones were devoted to his usual occupations, and more particularly to the discharge of that duty which alone detained him in India—the completion of the digest of Hindu and Mohammedan law. But neither the consciousness of acquitting himself of an obligation which he had voluntarily contracted, nor his incessant assiduity, could fill the vacuity occasioned by the absence of her whose society had sweetened the toil of application and cheered his hours of relaxation. Their habits were congenial, and their pursuits in some respects similar: his botanical researches were facilitated by the eyes of Lady Jones, and by her talents in drawing ; and their evenings were generally passed together, in the perusal of the best modern authors in the different lan-

guages of Europe. After her departure, he mixed more in promiscuous society ; but his affections were transported with her to his native country.

On the evening of the 20th of April, or nearly about that date, after prolonging his walk to a late hour, during which he had imprudently remained in conversation in an unwholesome situation, he called upon the writer of these sheets, and complained of agueish symptoms, mentioning his intention to take some medicine, and repeating jocularly an old proverb, that "an ague in the spring is medicine for a king." He had no suspicion at the time of the real nature of his indisposition, which proved in fact to be a complaint common in Bengal, an inflammation in the liver. The disorder was, however, soon discovered by the penetration of the physician who, after two or three days, was called in to his assistance ; but it had then advanced too far to yield to the efficacy of the medicines usually prescribed, and they were administered in vain. The progress of the complaint was uncommonly rapid, and terminated fatally on the 27th of April 1794. On the morning of that day, his attendants, alarmed at the evident symptoms of approaching dissolution, came precipitately to call the friend who has now the melancholy task of recording the mournful event. Not a moment was lost in repairing to his house. He was lying on his bed in a posture of meditation ; and the only symptom of remaining life was a small degree of motion in the heart, which after a few seconds ceased, and he expired without a pang or groan. His bodily suffering, from the complacency of his features and the ease of his attitude, could not have been severe ; and his mind must have derived consolation from those sources where he had been in the habit of seeking it, and where alone, in our last moments, it can ever be found.

The deep regret which I felt at the time, that the apprehensions of the attendants of Sir William Jones had not induced them to give me earlier notice of the extremity of his situation, is not yet obliterated. It would have afforded me an opportunity of performing the pleasing but painful office of soothing his last moments, and I should have felt the sincerest gratification in receiving his latest commands; nor would it have been less satisfactory to the public to have known the dying sentiments and behaviour of a man who had so long and deservedly enjoyed so large a portion of their esteem and admiration.

An anecdote of Sir William Jones (upon what authority I know not) has been recorded, that immediately before his dissolution, he retired to his closet, and expired in the act of adoration to his Creator. Such a circumstance would have been conformable to his prevailing habits of thinking and reflection; but it is not founded in fact: he died upon his bed, and in the same room in which he had remained from the commencement of his indisposition.

The funeral ceremony was performed on the following day, with the honours due to his public station; and the numerous attendance of the most respectable British inhabitants of Calcutta evinced their sorrow for his loss and their respect for his memory.

If my success in describing the life of Sir William Jones has been proportionate to my wishes, and to my admiration of his character, any attempt to delineate it must now be superfluous. I cannot, however, resist the impulse of recapitulating in substance what has been particularly detailed in the course of this work.

In the short space of forty-seven years, by the exertion of rare intellectual talents, he acquired a knowledge of

arts, sciences, and languages, which has seldom been equalled, and scarcely, if ever, surpassed. If he did not attain the critical proficiency of a Porson or Parr in Grecian literature, yet his knowledge of it was most extensive and profound, and entitled him to a high rank in the first class of scholars; while, as a philologist, he could boast an universality in which he had no rival. His skill in the idioms of India, Persia, and Arabia, has perhaps never been equalled by any European; and his compositions on Oriental subjects display a taste which we seldom find in the writings of those who had preceded him in these tracts of literature.* The language of Constantinople was also familiar to him; and of the Chinese characters and tongue he had learned enough to enable him to translate an ode of Confucius. In the modern dialects of Europe, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and German, he was thoroughly conversant, and had perused the most admired writers in those languages. I might extend the list, by specifying other dialects which he understood, but which he had less perfectly studied.†

* Amongst those who have latterly distinguished themselves by their Oriental learning, the late Reverend J. D. Carlyle, professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, has displayed equal taste and erudition, in his elegant translation of *Specimens of Arabian Poetry*, published in 1796.

† The following is transcribed from a paper in the hand-writing of Sir William Jones:—

LANGUAGES.

Eight languages studied critically:—

English, Latin, French, Italian,
Greek, Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit.

Eight studied less perfectly, but all intelligible with a dictionary:—

Spanish, Portuguese, German, Runick,
Hebrew, Bengali, Hindi, Turkish.

Twelve

But mere philology was never considered by Sir William Jones as the end of his studies, nor as anything more than the medium through which knowledge was to be acquired: he knew that "words were the daughters of earth, and things the sons of heaven," and would have disdained the character of a mere linguist. In the little sketch of a treatise on education, which has been inserted in these Memoirs, he describes the use of language, and the necessity of acquiring the languages of those people who in any period of the world have been distinguished by their superior knowledge, in order to add to our own researches the accumulated wisdom of all ages and nations. Accordingly, with the keys of learning in his possession, he was qualified to unlock the literary hoards of ancient and modern times, and to display the treasures deposited in them, for the use, entertainment, or instruction of mankind. In the course of his labours, we find him elucidating the laws of Athens, India, and Arabia; comparing the philosophy of the Porch, the Lyceum, and Academy, with the doctrines of the Sufis and Bramins; and, by a rare combination of taste and erudition, exhibiting the mythological fictions of the Hindûs in strains not unworthy the sublimest Grecian bards. In the eleven discourses which he addressed to the Asiatic Society, on the history civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, sciences, philosophy, and literature of Asia, and on the origin and families of nations, he has discussed the subjects which

Twelve studied least perfectly, but all attainable:—

Tibetan, Pâli, Phalavi, Deri,
Russian, Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic,
Welsh, Swedish, Dutch, Chinese.

Twenty-eight languages.

In another memorandum, he mentions having read a grammar of the Russian and Welsh.

he professed to explain, with a perspicuity which delights and instructs, and in a style which never ceases to please, where his arguments may not always convince. In these disquisitions he has more particularly displayed his profound Oriental learning in illustrating topics of great importance in the history of mankind ; and it is much to be lamented, that he did not live to revise and improve them in England, with the advantages of accumulated knowledge and undisturbed leisure.*

* Of these discourses, the subjects of the two first have been noticed in the *Memoirs* ; the seven following, from the third to the ninth inclusive, are appropriated to the solution of an important problem,—whether the five nations, viz. the Indians, Arabs, Tartars, Persians, and Chinese, who have divided amongst themselves, as a kind of inheritance, the vast continent of Asia, had a common origin, and whether that origin was the same that is generally ascribed to them.

To each of these nations a distinct essay is allotted, for the purpose of ascertaining who they were, whence and when they came, and where they are now settled. The general media through which this extensive investigation is pursued, are,—first, their languages and letters ; secondly, their philosophy ; thirdly, the actual remains of their old sculpture and architecture ; and, fourthly, the written memorials of their sciences and arts : the eighth discourse is allotted to the borderers, mountaineers, and islanders of Asia ; and the ninth, on the origin and families of nations, gives the result of the whole enquiry.

To state all the information which is curious, novel, and interesting in these discourses, would be nearly to transcribe the whole, and the very nature of them does not admit of a satisfactory abridgment ; the conclusion adopted by Sir William Jones may be given in his own words ; but this, without the arguments from which it is deduced, and the facts and observations on which those arguments are founded, must be imperfectly understood. I must therefore refer the reader, who is desirous of investigating the great problem of the derivation of nations from their parental stock, or, in other words, of the population of the world, to the discourses themselves ; and in presenting him with a faint outline of some of the most important facts and

A mere catalogue of the writings of Sir William Jones would shew the extent and variety of his erudition; a

observations contained in them, I mean rather to excite his curiosity than to gratify it.

I shall follow the discourses in the order in which they stand; and, to avoid unnecessary phraseology, I shall, as far as possible, use the language of Sir William Jones himself.

The first discourse, which is the third of the series in which they were delivered, begins with the **HINDUS**.

The civil history of the inhabitants of India beyond the middle of the nineteenth century from the present time, is enveloped in a cloud of fables. Facts, strengthened by analogy, may lead us to suppose the existence of a primeval language in Upper India, which may be called Hindi, and that the Sanscrit was introduced into it by conquerors from other kingdoms in some very remote age. The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs, and in the form of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident;—so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanscrit; and the old Persian might be added to the same family.

The Deb-nagari characters, in which the languages of India were originally written, are adopted, with little variation in form, in more than twenty kingdoms and states, from the borders of Cashgar and Khoten, to the southern extremity of the peninsula; and from the Indus to the river of Siam. That the square Chaldaic characters, in which most Hebrew books are copied, were originally the same, or derived from the same prototype, both with the Indian and Arabian characters, there can be little doubt; and it is probable that the Phœnician, from which the Greek and Roman alphabets were formed, had a similar origin.

The deities adored in India were worshipped under different names in Old Greece and Italy; and the same philosophical tenets

perusal of them will prove that it was no less deep than miscellaneous. Whatever topic he discusses, his ideas

which were illustrated by the Ionic and Attic writers with all the beauties of their melodious language, are professed in India. The six philosophical schools of the Indians comprise all the metaphysics of the old Academy, the Stóá, and the Lyceum; nor can we hesitate to believe that Pythagoras and Plato derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the sages of India. The Scythian and Hyperborean doctrines and mythology are discovered in every part of the Eastern regions; and that Wod or Oden was the same with Budh of India, and Fo of China, seems indisputable.

The remains of architecture and sculpture in India seem to prove an early connexion between that country and Africa. The letters on many of the monuments appear partly of Indian, and partly of Abyssinian or Ethiopic origin; and these indubitable facts seem to authorize a probable opinion, that Ethiopia and Hindustan were colonized by the same race. The period of the subjugation of India by the Hindús under Rama, from Audh to Silan, may be dated at about thirty-six centuries before the present period.

The Arabs come next under investigation. The Arabic language is unquestionably one of the most ancient in the world. That it has not the least resemblance either in words or in the structure of them to the Sanscrit, or great parent of the Indian dialects, is established by the most irrefragable arguments. With respect to the characters in which the old compositions of Arabia were written, little is known except that the Koran originally appeared in those of Kufah, from which the modern Arabian characters were derived, and which unquestionably had a common origin with the Hebrew and Chaldaic. It has generally been supposed that the old religion of the Arabs was entirely Sabian; but the information concerning the Sabian faith, and even the meaning of the word, is too imperfect to admit of any satisfactory conclusion on the subject. That the people of Yemen soon fell into the common idolatry of adoring the sun and firmament, is certain; other tribes worshipped the planets and fixed stars; but the religion of the poets seems to have been pure theism: of any philosophy but ethics, there are no traces among them; and their system of morals was miserably depraved for a century, at least, before Mohammed.

Few monuments of antiquity are preserved in Arabia, and of

flow with ease and perspicuity ; his style is always clear and polished, animated and forcible when his subject

these the accounts are uncertain. Of sciences the Arabs of Hejaz were totally ignorant, and the only arts successfully cultivated by them (horsemanship and military accomplishments excepted) were poetry and rhetoric. The people of Yemen had possibly more mechanical arts, and perhaps more science.

Thus it clearly appears, that the Arabs both of Hejaz and Yemen sprang from a stock entirely different from that of the Hindûs ; and if we give credit to the universal tradition of Yemen, that Yoktan, the son of Eber, first settled his family in Arabia, their first establishments in their respective countries were nearly coeval, about eighteen centuries before the Christian era.

The Tartars furnish the subject of the fifth discourse. In general, they differ wholly in feature and complexion from the Hindûs and Arabs. The general traditional history of the Tartars begins with Oghuz, as that of the Hindûs does with Rama ; and according to Visdelou, the King of the Hyumnus, or Huns, began his reign about three thousand five hundred and sixty years ago, not longer after the time fixed, in the former discourses, for the regular establishments of the Hindûs and Arabs in their several countries.

The enquiry concerning the languages and letters of the Tartars presents a deplorable void, or a prospect as barren and dreary as their deserts : they had in general no literature (a proposition which is not affected by admitting with Ibnu Arabshah the existence of Dilberjin and Eighuri letters) ; and all that can be safely inferred from the little information we have on the subject, is the probability that the various dialects of Tartary descended from one common stock, essentially different from that from which the Indian and Arabian tongues severally came. The language of the Brahmans affords a proof of an immemorial and total difference between the savages of the mountains, as the Chinese call the Tartars, and the studious, placid, contemplative inhabitants of India.

Pure theism appears to have prevailed in Tartary for some generations after Yafet ; the Mongals and Turcs some ages afterwards relapsed into idolatry ; but Chingis was a theist.

Thus it has been proved beyond controversy, that the far greater part of Asia has been peopled, and immemorially possessed, by three considerable nations, whom for want of better names we may call

requires it. His philological, botanical, philosophical, and chronological disquisitions, his historical researches,

Hindûs, Arabs, and Tartars ; each of them divided and subdivided into an infinite number of branches, and all of them so different in form and features, language, manners, and religion, that if they sprang originally from one common root, they must have been separated for ages.

The sixth and next discourse is on PERSIA or IRÂN.

There is solid reason to suppose, that a powerful monarchy had been established in Irân for ages before the Assyrian dynasty, (which commenced with Cayumers, about eight or nine centuries before Christ,) under the name of the Mahabadian dynasty, and that it must be the oldest in the world.

When Mohammed was born, two languages appear to have been generally prevalent in the great empire of Irân ; that of the court, thence named Deri, which was only a refined and elegant dialect of the Parsi, and that of the learned, named Pahlavi. But besides these two, a very ancient and abstruse tongue was known to the priests and philosophers, called *the language of the Zend*, because a book on religious and moral duties, which they held sacred, and which bore that name, had been written in it. The Zend, and old Pahlavi, are now almost extinct in Irân ; but the Parsi, which remains almost pure in the Shahnameh (a poem composed about eight centuries ago), has now become a new and exquisitely polished language. The Parsi has so much of the Sanscrit, that it was evidently derived from the language of the Brahmans ; but the pure Persian contains no traces of any Arabian tongue. The Pahlavi, on the contrary, has a strong resemblance to the Arabic ; and a perusal of the Zend glossary, in the work of M. A. du Perron, decidedly proves the language of the Zend to be at least a dialect of the Sanscrit. From all these facts it is a necessary consequence, that the oldest discoverable languages in Persia were Chaldaic and Sanscrit ; that when they ceased to be vernacular, the Pahlavi and Zend were deduced from them respectively, and the Parsi from the Zend, or immediately from the dialect of the Brahmans : but all had perhaps a mixture of Tartarian ; for the best lexicographers assert, that numberless words in ancient Persian are taken from the language of the Cimmerians, or the Tartars of the Kipchak.

The ancient religion of the old Persians was pure theism, which

and even his Persian Grammar, whilst they fix the curiosity and attention of the reader, by the novelty,

prevailed until the accession of Cayumers, and was evidently the religion of the Brahmans ; whilst the doctrine of the Zend was as evidently distinct from that of the Véda. With their religion, their philosophy was intimately connected ; and a metaphysical theology has been immemorially professed by a numerous sect of Persians and Hindûs, which was carried partly into Greece, and prevails even now among the learned Mohammedans, who sometimes avow it without reserve. The modern professors of this philosophy, which is that of the Indian Vidanti school, are called Sufis. Their fundamental tenet is, that nothing exists but God ; that the human soul is an emanation from his essence, and though divided for a time from its heavenly source, will be finally re-united with it, in the enjoyment of the highest possible happiness.

The result of this discourse is, that a powerful monarchy was established in Irân, long before the Pishdadi or Assyrian government ; that it was in truth a Hindu monarchy ; that it subsisted many centuries, and that its history has been engrafted on that of the Hindûs, who founded the monarchies of Ayodhya or Audh, and Indraprestha or Delhi ; that the language of the first Persian empire was the mother of the Sanscrit, and consequently of the Zend and Persian, as well as of the Greek, Latin, and Gothic ; that the language of the Assyrians was the parent of Chaldaic and Pahlavi ; and that the primary Tartar language had been current in the same empire.

Thus the three distinct races of men described in the former essays, as possessors of India, Arabia, and Tartary, are discovered in Irân or Persia, in the earliest dawn of history.

Whether Asia may not have produced other races of men distinct from the Hindûs, the Arabs or the Tartars, or whether any apparent diversity may not have sprung from an intermixture of these three in different proportions, remains to be investigated : and in this view, the enquiry next proceeds to the Chinese, who form the subject of the seventh discourse.

The word China is well known to the people whom we call Chinese, but they never apply it to themselves or their country. They describe themselves as the people of Han, or some other illustrious family ; and their country they call Chim-cue, or the central region, —or Tien-hia, meaning what is under heaven.

depth, or importance of the knowledge displayed in them, always delight by elegance of diction. His com-

From the evidence of Con-fu-tsu or Confucius, it is proved that the Chinese themselves do not even pretend that, in the age of that philosopher, any historical monument existed preceding the rise of their third dynasty, above eleven hundred years before the Christian epoch ; and that the reign of Vuvam, who has the fame of having founded that dynasty, was in the infancy of their empire : and it has been asserted by very learned Europeans, that even of this third dynasty no unsuspected memorial can now be produced. It was not until the eighth century before our Saviour, that a small kingdom was erected in the province of Shensi ; and both the country and its metropolis were called Chin. The territory of Chin, so called by the old Hindûs, by the Persians and Chinese, gave its name to a race of emperors, whose tyranny made them so unpopular, that the modern inhabitants of China hold the name in abhorrence.

The Chinas are mentioned by Menu, in a book next in time and authority to the Vêda, as one of the families of the military class, who gradually abandoned the ordinances of the Vêda ; and there is a strong presumption for supposing that the Chinas of Menu are the Chinese. Hence it is probable, that the whole race of Chinese descended from the Chinas of Menu, and mixing with the Tartars, by whom the plains of Honan, and the more southern provinces, were thinly inhabited, founded by degrees the race of men who are now in possession of the noblest empire in Asia. The language and letters, religion and philosophy, of the modern Chinese, or their ancient monuments, their sciences, and their arts, furnish little either in support or refutation of this opinion ; but various circumstances under the two heads of literature and religion seem collectively to prove (as far as such questions admit of proof) that the Chinese and Hindûs were originally the same people. Many singular marks of relation may be discovered between them and the old Hindûs, as in the remarkable period of four hundred and thirty-two thousand,*

* The period of four hundred and thirty-two thousand years seems to be founded on an astronomical calculation purposely disguised, by ciphers added or subtracted, *ad libitum*. See Discourse on Chronology of the Hindûs, Sir William Jones's Works, vol. i. p. 283.

positions are never dry, tedious, nor disgusting; and literature and science come from his hands adorned with all their grace and beauty.

and in the cycle of sixty years, in the predilection for the mystical number nine; in many similar fasts and great festivals, especially at the solstices and equinoxes; in the obsequies, consisting of rice and fruits, offered to their deceased ancestors; in the dread of dying childless, lest such offerings should be intermitted; and perhaps in their common abhorrence of red objects—which the Indians carry so far, that Menu himself, when he allows a Bramin to trade, if he cannot otherwise support life, absolutely forbids “his trafficking in any sort of red cloths, whether linen or woollen, or made of woven bark.”

The Japanese are supposed to be descended from the same stock as the Chinese; the Hindu or Egyptian idolatry has prevailed in Japan from the earliest ages; and amongst the ancient idols worshipped in that country, there are many which are every day seen in the temples of Bengal.

The Borderers, Mountaineers, and Islanders of Asia, form the subject of the eighth discourse. It begins with the Idumeans or Erythreans, who were indubitably distinct from the Arabs, and, from the concurrence of many strong testimonies, may be referred to the Indian stem.

That the written Abyssinian language, which we call Ethiopic, is a dialect of the old Chaldean, and sister of the Arabic and Hebrew, is certain; and a cursory examination of many old inscriptions on pillars and in caves, leaves little doubt that the Nagari and Ethiopian letters had a similar form. It is supposed, that the Abyssinians of the Arabian stock having no letters, borrowed those of the black Pagans, whom the Greeks called Troglodytes; and, upon the whole, it seems probable that the Ethiops of Meroë were the same people with the first Egyptians, and consequently, as it might easily be shewn, with the original Hindûs.

There is no trace in the maritime part of Yemen, from Aden to Maskat, of any nation who were not Arabs or Abyssinian invaders; and from the Gulf of Persia to the rivers Cur and Aras, no vestige appears of any people distinct from the Arabs, Persians, and Tartars. The principal inhabitants of the mountains which separate Irân from India were anciently distinguished among the Brahmans by

No writer perhaps ever displayed so much learning with so little affectation of it. Instead of overwhelming

the name of Doradas ; they seem to have been destroyed or expelled by the Afgans or Patans ; and there is very solid ground for believing that the Afgans descended from the Jews—because they sometimes in confidence avow that unpopular origin, which in general they sedulously conceal, and which other Mussulmans positively assert—because Hazaret, which appears to be the Azareth of Esdras, is one of their territories—and principally because their language is evidently a dialect of the scriptural Chaldaic.

It is not unworthy of remark, that the copious vocabulary exhibited by Grellman, of the Gypsy dialect, contains so many Sanscrit words, that their Indian origin can hardly be doubted.

The Boras, a remarkable race of men, inhabiting chiefly the cities of Gujarat, though Mussulmans in religion, are Jews in genius, features, and manners, and probably came first, with their brethren the Afgans, to the borders of India.

The languages, letters, religion, and old monuments of Silân (Ceylon), prove that it was immemorably peopled by the Hindu race. To the people of Java and Sumatra the same origin may be assigned ; and relying upon the authority of Mr. Marsden, that clear vestiges of one ancient language are discernible in all the insular dialects of the Southern Seas, from Madagascar to the Philippines, and even to the remotest islands lately discovered, we may infer from the specimens of those languages, in his account of Sumatra, that the parent of them all was no other than the Sanscrit.

That the people of Potyid, or Thibet, were Hindûs, is known from the researches of Cassiano ; their written language proves it.

The natives of Eighûr, Tancut, and Khata, who had systems of letters, and are even said to have cultivated liberal arts, may be suspected to have been of the Indian, not of the Tartarian family : and the same remark may be applied to the nation called Barmas, but who are known to the pundits by the name of Brahmachinas, and seem to have been the Brachmani of Ptolemy.

From all that can be learned of the old religion and manners of the Hyperboreans, they appear, like the Massagetæ, and some other nations, usually considered as Tartars, to be really of the Gothic, that is, of the Hindu race ; for it is demonstrable, that the Goths and Hindûs had originally the same language, gave the same appel-

his readers with perpetual quotations from ancient and modern authors whose ideas or information he adopts,

lation to the stars and planets, adored the same false deities, performed the same bloody sacrifices, and professed the same notions of rewards and punishments after death. It may be concluded, that all the Northern languages, excepting the Gothic, had a Tartarian origin, like that universally ascribed to the Slavonian.

From the best information procurable in Bengal, it satisfactorily appears, that the basis of the Armenian was the ancient Persian, of the same Indian stock with the Zend; that it has been gradually changed from the time that Armenia ceased to be a province of Irân.

The Greeks and Phrygians, though differing somewhat in manners, and perhaps in dialect, had an apparent affinity in religion as well as in language: the grand object of mysterious worship in Phrygia is stated by the Greeks to be the mother of the gods, or Nature personified; as she is seen among the Indians in a thousand forms, and under a thousand names. The Diana of Ephesus was manifestly the same goddess, in the character of productive nature; and the Astarté of the Syrians and Phœnicians appears to be the same in another form. The Phœnicians, like the Hindûs, adored the sun, and asserted water to be the first of created things: nor can it be doubted, that Syria, Samaria, and Phœnice (or the long strip of land on the shore of the Mediterranean), were anciently peopled by a branch of the Hindu stock, but were afterwards inhabited by that race, for the present called Arabian; in all three, the oldest religion was the Assyrian, as it is called by Selden, and the Samaritan letters appear to have been the same at first with those of Phœnice; but the Syriac language, of which ample remains are preserved, and the Punic, of which a specimen is seen in Plautus, and on monuments lately brought to light, were indisputably of a Chaldaïc or Arabic origin. Thus all the different races mentioned in this discourse may be referred to an Indian or Arabian pedigree.

The ninth discourse, On the Origin and Families of Nations, opens with a short review of the propositions to which we have been gradually led.

That the first race of Persians and Indians, to whom may be added the Romans and Greeks, the Goths, and the old Egyptians or Ethiops, originally spoke the same language, and professed the same

he transmutes their sense into his own language ; and whilst his compositions on this account have a pleasing

popular faith, is capable of incontestable proof : that the Jews and Arabs, the Assyrians, or second Persian race, the people who spoke Syriac, and a numerous tribe of Abyssinians, used one primitive dialect wholly distinct from the idiom just mentioned, is undisputed and indisputable : but that the settlers in China and Japan had a common origin with the Hindüs, is no more than highly probable ; and that all the Tartars, as they are inaccurately called, were primarily of a third separate branch, totally different from the two others in language, manners, and features, may be plausibly conjectured, but cannot, for reasons alleged in a former essay, be perspicuously shewn, and is therefore for the present merely assumed.

If the human race, as may be confidently affirmed, be of one natural species, they must all have proceeded from one pair ; and the world, with respect to its population, in the age of Mahomet, would exhibit the same appearances as were then actually observed upon it. At that period, five races of men, peculiarly distinguished for their multitude and extent of dominion, were visible in Asia ; but these have been reduced by inquiry to three, because no more can be discovered that essentially differ in language, religion, manners, and known characteristics. These three races of men (if the preceding conclusions be justly drawn) must have migrated originally from a central country, and all the phenomena tend to shew that country to be Irân : it is there only that the traces of the three primitive languages are discovered in the earliest historical age, and its position with respect to Arabia or Egypt, India, Tartary, or China, gives a weight to the conclusion, which it would not have if either of those countries were assumed as the central region of population. Thus, it is proved that the inhabitants of Asia, and consequently of the whole earth, sprang from three branches of one stem ; and that those branches have shot into their present state of luxuriance in a period comparatively short, is apparent from a fact universally acknowledged, that we find no certain monument, nor even probable traditions, of nations planted, empires and states raised, laws enacted, cities built, navigation improved, commerce encouraged, arts invented, or letters contrived, above twelve, or at most fifteen or sixteen centuries before Christ.

Hence it seems to follow, that the only family after the Flood esta-

uniformity, his less learned readers are enabled to reap the fruits of his laborious studies.

blished themselves in the Northern part of Irân ; that, as they multiplied, they were divided into three distinct branches, each retaining little at first, and losing the whole by degrees, of their common primary language, but agreeing severally on new expressions for new ideas ; that the branch of Yafet was enlarged in many scattered shoots over the North of Europe and Asia, diffusing themselves as far as the Western and Eastern Seas, and at length, in the infancy of navigation, beyond them both ; that they cultivated no liberal arts, and had no use of letters, but formed a variety of dialects as their tribes were variously ramified ; that, secondly, the children of Ham, who founded in Irân itself the first monarchy of Chaldeans, invented letters, observed and named the luminaries of the firmament, calculated the known Indian period of 432,000 years, or an hundred and twenty repetitions of the Saros ; that they were dispersed at various intervals and in various colonies over land and ocean : that the tribes of Misr, Cush, and Rama, (names remaining unchanged in Sanscrit, and highly revered by the Hindûs,) settled in Africk and India ; while some of them, having improved the art of sailing, passed from Egypt, Phœnice, and Phrygia, into Italy and Greece ; whilst a swarm from the same hive moved by a northerly course into Scandinavia, and another by the head of the Oxus, and through the passes of Imâis, into Cashgar and Eighûr, Khata, and Khoten, as far as the territories of Chin and Tancut, where letters have been immemorially used and arts cultivated ; nor is it unreasonable to believe, that some of them found their way from the Eastern Isles into Mexico and Peru, where traces were discovered of rude literature and mythology analogous to those of Egypt and India : that, thirdly, the old Chaldean empire being overthrown by Cayumers, other migrations took place, especially into India ; while the rest of Shem's progeny, some of whom had before settled on the Red Sea, peopled the whole Arabian peninsula, pressing close on the nations of Syria and Phœnice : that, lastly, from all the three families many adventurers were detached, who settled in distant isles or deserts, and mountainous regions ; that, on the whole, some colonies might have migrated before the death of Noah, but that states and empires could scarcely have assumed a regular form till 1500 or 1600 years before the Christian epoch ; and that for the first thousand years of that period, we have no history unmixed with fable, except

His legal publications have been noticed in these Memoirs : of their merit I am not qualified to speak.

that of the turbulent and variable, but eminently distinguished nation, descended from Abraham.*

The tenth discourse is appropriated to unfold the particular advantages to be derived from the concurrent researches of the Society in Asia ; and amongst the foremost and most important which has been attained, he justly notices the confirmation of the Mosaic accounts of the primitive world.

Part of this discourse is quoted at length in the Memoirs, and to abstract it would add too much to the length of this note ; I shall only observe, that the discourse is worthy of the most attentive perusal.

For a similar reason, and with the same recommendation, I shall barely advert to the subject of the eleventh and last discourse, delivered by Sir William Jones before the Society on the 20th of February 1794, On the Philosophy of the Asiatics ; quoting a part of the concluding paragraph :—" The subject of this discourse is inexhaustible ; it has been my endeavour to say as much on it as possible in fewest words ; and at the beginning of next year, I hope to close these general disquisitions with topics measureless in extent."

In this general and concise abstract of the subjects discussed in these discourses, I beg it may be understood that I by no means pretend to have done justice either to the argument or observations of Sir William Jones ; but it may induce the reader to peruse the dissertations themselves, which will amply repay the trouble of the task.

Nor is the reader to conclude that these discourses contain all that Sir William Jones wrote on the Sciences, Arts, and Literature of Asia. We have a Dissertation on Indian Chronology ; another on the Antiquity of the Indian Zodiack, in which he engages to support an opinion (which Montucla treats with supreme contempt), that the Indian division of the Zodiack was not borrowed from the Greeks or Arabs ; another specifically on the Literature of the Hindûs ; and one on the Musical Modes of the Hindûs ; besides many essays on curious and interesting subjects, for which I can only refer to his Works.

* [Sir William Jones remarks explicitly in this discourse, that " the deluge is an historical fact admitted as true by every nation to whose literature we have access, and particularly by the ancient Hindûs."—S. C. W.]

I have been informed that his Essay on the Law of Bailments was stamped with the approbation of Lord Mansfield, and that his writings shew that he had thoroughly studied the principles of law as a science. Indeed it is impossible to suppose that Sir William Jones applied his talents to any subject in vain.

From the study of law, which he cultivated with enthusiasm, he was led to an admiration of the laws of his own country; in them he had explored the principles of the British constitution, which he considered as the noblest and most perfect that ever was formed, and in defence of it he would cheerfully have risked his property and life. In his tenth discourse to the Society, in 1793, little more than a year before his death, we trace the same sentiments on this subject which he adopted in youth.

“The practical use of history, in affording particular examples of civil and military wisdom, has been greatly exaggerated; but principles of action may certainly be collected from it: and even the narrative of wars and revolutions may serve as a lesson to nations, and an admonition to sovereigns. A desire, indeed, of knowing past events, while the future cannot be known, (and a view of the present gives often more pain than delight,) seems natural to the human mind: and a happy propensity would it be, if every reader of history would open his eyes to some very important corollaries which flow from the whole extent of it. He could not but remark the constant effect of despotism in benumbing and debasing all those faculties which distinguish men from the herd that grazes; and to that cause he would impute the decided inferiority of most Asiatic nations, ancient and modern, to those in Europe, who are blest with happier governments: he would see the Arabs rising to glory,

while they adhered to the free maxims of their bold ancestors, and sinking to misery from the moment when those maxims were abandoned. On the other hand, he would observe with regret, that such republican governments as tend to promote virtue and happiness cannot in their nature be permanent, but are generally succeeded by oligarchies, which no good man would wish to be durable. He would then, like the king of Lydia, remember Solon, the wisest, bravest, and most accomplished of men, who asserts, in four nervous lines, that, 'as hail and snow, which mar the labours of husbandmen, proceed from elevated clouds, and as the destructive thunderbolt follows the brilliant flash, thus is a free state ruined by men exalted in power and splendid in wealth, while the people, from gross ignorance, choose rather to become the slaves of one tyrant, than they may escape from the domination of many, than to preserve themselves from tyranny of any kind by their union and their virtues.' Since, therefore, no unmixed form of government could both preserve permanence and enjoy it, and since changes even from the worst to the best are always attended with much temporary mischief, he would fix on our British constitution (I mean our public law, not the actual state of things in any given period,) as the best form ever established, though we can only make distant approaches to its theoretical perfection. In these Indian territories, which Providence has thrown into the arms of Britain for their protection and welfare, the religion, manners, and laws of the natives preclude even the idea of political freedom; but their histories may possibly suggest hints for their prosperity, while our country derives essential benefit from the diligence of a placid and submissive people, who multiply with such increase, even after the ravages of famine, that in one collectorship out of twenty-

four, and that by no means the largest or best cultivated, (I mean Chrishna-nagur,) there have lately been found, by an actual enumeration, a million and three hundred thousand native inhabitants; whence it should seem, that in all India there cannot now be fewer than thirty millions of black British subjects."

This quotation will prove that he was not tainted with the wild theories of licentiousness, miscalled liberty, which have been propagated with unusual industry since the Revolution in France; and that, whilst he was exerting himself to compile a code of laws which should secure the rights and property of the natives of India, (a labour to which he in fact sacrificed his life,) he knew the absurdity and impracticability of attempting to introduce amongst them that political freedom which is the birth-right of Britons, but the growth of ages. Of the French Revolution in its commencement he entertained a favourable opinion, and in common with many wise and good men, who had not as yet discovered the foul principle from which it sprang, wished success to the struggles of that nation for the establishment of a free constitution; but he saw with unspeakable disgust the enormities which sprang out of the attempt, and betrayed the impurity of its origin. Things ill begun, strengthen themselves with ill. We may easily conceive, and it is unnecessary to state, what the sentiments of Sir William Jones would have been if he had lived to this time.

If the political opinions of Sir William Jones, at any period, have been censured for extravagance, let it be remembered, that he adopted none but such as he firmly believed to arise out of the principles of the constitution of England; and as such he was ever ready to avow and defend them. His attachment to liberty was certainly enthusiastic; and he never speaks of tyranny or oppres-

sion but in the language of detestation: this sentiment, the offspring of generous feelings, was invigorated by his early acquaintance with the republican writers of Greece and Rome, and with the works of the most celebrated political writers of his own country; but the whole tenor of his life, conversation, and writings, proves to my conviction, that he would have abandoned any opinion which could be demonstrated irreconcilable to the spirit of the constitution.

With these principles he ever refused to enlist under the banners of any party, which he denominated faction, and resisted the influence of private friendships and attachments whenever they involved a competition with his regard to the constitution of his country. These sentiments may be traced in his correspondence and publications, and they are sometimes accompanied with expressions of regret arising from the impossibility of reconciling his political principles to the bias of his inclinations towards individuals.

The latest political publication of Sir William Jones is prior to the year 1783. The temper of the nation, soured by a long and unsuccessful war, was displayed during the three preceding years in the bitterest invectives and censures, both in and out of parliament; and those who thought that the principles of the constitution had been invaded by the conduct of the Minister supported by a majority in the House of Commons, looked to a reformation in the representation of the country as the only means of restoring the balance of the constitution. The revolution which has since deformed the political state of Europe was not then foreseen; and the experience founded on the *consequences* of the speculations which led to it, or have emerged from it, was to be acquired. In judging of the political opinions of Sir William Jones, and of

the freedom with which they were published to the world, we should revert to the language and spirit of the times when they were delivered. It may be further remarked, that some political theories which were held to be incontrovertible have of late years been questioned; and that the doctrines of Locke on government, which it would once have been heresy to deny, no longer command that implicit acquiescence which they once almost universally received.

In the first charge which Sir William Jones delivered to the grand jury at Calcutta, he told them that he aspired to no popularity, and sought no praise but that which might be given to a strict and conscientious discharge of duty, without predilection or prejudice of any kind, and with a fixed resolution to pronounce on all occasions what he conceived to be the law, than which no individual must suppose himself wiser. His conduct as a judge was most strictly conformable to his professions: on the bench he was laborious, patient, and discriminating: his charges to the grand jury, which do not exceed six, exhibit a veneration for the laws of his country; a just and spirited encomium on the trial by jury, as the greatest and most invaluable right derived from them to the subject; a detestation of crimes, combined with mercy towards the offender; occasional elucidations of the law; and the strongest feelings of humanity and benevolence. By his knowledge of the Sanscrit and Arabic, he was eminently qualified to promote the administration of justice in the Supreme Court, by detecting misrepresentations of the Hindu or Mohammedan laws, and by correcting impositions in the form of administering oaths to the followers of Bramha and Mohammed. If no other benefit had resulted from his study of these languages, than the compilation of the digest, and the translation of Menu

and of two Mohammedan law-tracts, this application of his talents to promote objects of the first importance to India and Europe would have entitled him to the acknowledgments of both countries. Of his studies in general it may be observed, that the end which he always had in view was practical utility; that knowledge was not accumulated by him as a source of mere intellectual recreation, or to gratify an idle curiosity, or for the idler purpose of ostentatiously displaying his acquisitions: to render himself useful to his country and mankind, and to promote the prosperity of both, were the primary and permanent motives of his indefatigable exertions in the pursuit of knowledge.

The inflexible integrity with which he discharged the solemn duty of this station will long be remembered in Calcutta, both by Europeans and natives. So cautious was he to guard the independence of his character from any possibility of violation or imputation, that no solicitation could prevail upon him to use his personal influence with the members of administration in India to advance the private interests of friends whom he esteemed, and which he would have been happy to promote. He knew the dignity and felt the importance of his office; and, convinced that none could afford him more ample scope for exerting his talents to the benefit of mankind, his ambition never extended beyond it. No circumstance occasioned his death to be more lamented by the public than the loss of his abilities as Judge, of which they had had the experience of eleven years.

When we consider the time required for the study of the Law as a profession, and that portion of it which was devoted by Sir William Jones to the discharge of his duties as Judge and Magistrate in India, it must appear astonishing that he should have found leisure for the

acquisition of his numerous attainments in science and literature, and for completing the voluminous works which have been given to the public. On this subject, I shall, I trust, be excused for using, as I may find convenient, my own language in a discourse which I addressed to the Asiatic Society a few days after his decease.

There were in truth few sciences in which he had not acquired considerable proficiency; in most, his knowledge was profound. The theory of music was familiar to him, nor had he neglected to render himself acquainted with the interesting discoveries lately made in chemistry; and I have heard him assert, that his admiration of the structure of the human frame induced him to attend for a season to a course of anatomical lectures delivered by his friend, the celebrated Hunter. Of his skill in mathematics I am so far qualified to speak, that he frequently perused and solved the problems in the Principia.

His last and favourite pursuit was the study of botany: it constituted the principal amusement of his leisure hours. In the arrangement of Linnæus he discovered system, truth, and science, which never failed to captivate and engage his attention; and from the proofs which he has exhibited of his progress in botany, we may conclude, if he had lived, that he would have extended the discoveries in that science.* From two of the essays mentioned in the note, I shall transcribe two short extracts, which mark his judgment and delicacy of sentiment. "If botany

* Besides occasional botanical information, we have, in the Works of Sir William Jones, vol. ii. p. 1, a little tract, intitled, *The Design of a Treatise on the Plants of India*; p. 39, *A Catalogue of 420 Indian Plants*, comprehending their Sanscrit, and as many of the Linnæan generic names, as could with any degree of precision be ascertained; and, p. 47, *Botanical Observations on seventy select Indian Plants*; which last was a posthumous publication.

could be described by metaphors drawn from the science itself, we may justly pronounce a minute acquaintance with *plants*, their *classes*, *orders*, *kinds*, and *species*, to be its *flowers*, which can only produce *fruit* by an application of that knowledge to the purposes of life, particularly to *diet*, by which diseases may be avoided, and to *medicine*, by which they may be remedied." On the indelicacy of the Linnæan definitions, he observes: "Hence it is, that no well-born and well-educated woman can be advised to amuse herself with botany, as it is now explained; though a more elegant and delightful study, or one more likely to assist and embellish other female accomplishments, could not possibly be recommended."

It cannot be deemed useless or superfluous to inquire by what arts or method he was enabled to attain this extraordinary degree of knowledge. The faculties of his mind, by nature vigorous, were improved by constant exercise; and his memory, by habitual practice, had acquired a capacity of retaining whatever had once been impressed upon it. In his early years he seems to have entered upon his career of study with this maxim strongly impressed upon his mind,—that whatever had been attained was attainable by him: and it has been remarked, that he never neglected nor overlooked any opportunity of improving his intellectual faculties, or of acquiring esteemed accomplishments.

To an unextinguished ardour for universal information, he joined a perseverance in the pursuit of it which subdued all obstacles. His studies in India began with the dawn, and, during the intermissions of professional duties, were continued throughout the day: reflection and meditation strengthened and confirmed what industry and investigation had accumulated. It was also a fixed principle with him, from which he never voluntarily deviated.

not to be deterred by any difficulties that were surmountable from prosecuting to a successful termination what he had once deliberately undertaken.

But what appears to me more particularly to have enabled him to employ his talents so much to his own and the public advantage, was the regular allotment of his time to particular occupations, and a scrupulous adherence to the distribution which he had fixed: hence all his studies were pursued without interruption or confusion.* Nor can I omit remarking the candour and complacency with which he gave his attention to all persons, of whatever quality, talents, or education: he justly

* It was a favourite opinion of Sir William Jones, that all men are born with an equal capacity for improvement. The assertion (which I do not admit) will remind the reader of the modest declaration of Sir Isaac Newton, that if he had done the world any service, it was due to nothing but industry and patient thought. The following lines were sent to Sir William by a friend, Thomas Law, Esq., in consequence of a conversation in which he had maintained the opinion which I have imputed to him: his answer, which was unpremeditated, is a confirmation of it:—

Sir William, you attempt in vain
By depth of reason to maintain,
That all men's talents are the same,
And they, not Nature, are to blame.
Whate'er you say, whate'er you write,
Proves your opponents in the right.
Lest genius should be ill defined,
I term it *your superior mind* ;
Hence to your friends 'tis plainly shewn,
You 're ignorant of yourself alone.

SIR WILLIAM JONES'S ANSWER.

Ah! but too well, dear friend, I know
My fancy weak, my reason slow ;
My memory by art improved,
My mind by baseless trifles moved :

concluded, that curious or important information might be gained even from the illiterate, and wherever it was to be obtained he sought and seized it.

The literary designs which he still meditated* seem to have been as ample as those which he executed; and if it had pleased Providence to have extended the years of his existence, he would in a great measure have exhausted whatever was curious, important, and attainable, in the arts, sciences, and histories of India, Arabia, Persia, China, and Tartary. His collections on these subjects were extensive, and his ardour and industry we know were unlimited. It is to be hoped that the progressive labour of the Society will in part supply what he had so extensively planned.†

Give me (thus high my pride I raise)
 The ploughman's or the gardener's praise,
 With patient and unceasing toil,
 To meliorate a stubborn soil:
 And say (no higher meed I ask),
 With zeal hast thou perform'd thy task.
 Praise, of which virtuous minds may boast,
 They best confer, who merit most.

* See Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 7.

† The following paper, written by Sir William Jones, was found amongst his papers after his death, and may be considered as exhibiting his Oriental literary projects:—

DESIDERATA.—INDIA.

1. The Ancient Geography of India, &c. from the Purānas.
2. A Botanical Description of Indian Plants, from the Coshās, &c.
3. A Grammar of the Sanscrit Language, from Pānini, &c.
4. A Dictionary of the Sanscrit Language, from thirty-two original Vocabularies and Niructi.
5. On the Ancient Music of the Indians.

6. On

Of his private and social virtues it still remains to speak; and I could with pleasure expatiate on the independence of his integrity, his humanity and probity, as well as his benevolence, which every living creature participated.

“Could the figure,” (I quote with pleasure his own words,) “instincts, and qualities of birds, beasts, insects,

6. On the Medical Substances of India, and the Indian Art of Medicine.

7. On the Philosophy of the Ancient Indians.

8. A Translation of the Vêda.

9. On Ancient Indian Geometry, Astronomy, and Algebra.

10. A Translation of the Purânas.

11. Translation of the Mahâbharat and Râmâyan.

12. On the Indian Theatre, &c. &c.

13. On the Indian Constellations, with their Mythology, from the Purânas.

14. The History of India before the Mohammedan Conquest, from the Sanscrit Cashmir Histories.

ARABIA.

15. The History of Arabia before Mohammed.

16. A Translation of the Hamâsa.

17. A Translation of Hariri.

18. A Translation of the Fâcahatâl Khulafâ. Of the Cáfah.

PERSIA.

19. The History of Persia, from Authorities in Sanscrit, Arabic, Greek, Turkish, Persian, Ancient and Modern.

20. The Five Poems of Nizâmi, translated in Prose.

A Dictionary of pure Persian—Jehangiri.

CHINA.

21. Translation of the Shí-cing.

22. The Text of Con-fu-tsu, verbally translated.

TARTARY.

23. A History of the Tartar Nations, chiefly of the Moguls and Othmans, from the Turkish and Persian.

reptiles, and fish, be ascertained, either on the plan of Buffon, or on that of Linnæus, without giving pain to the objects of our examination, few studies would afford us more solid instruction or more exquisite delight; but I never could learn by what right, nor conceive with what feelings, a naturalist can occasion the misery of an innocent bird, and leave its young, perhaps, to perish in a cold nest, because it has gay plumage, and has never been accurately delineated; or deprive even a butterfly of its natural enjoyments, because it has the misfortune to be rare or beautiful: nor shall I ever forget the couplet of Ferdausi, for which Sadi, who cites it with applause, pours blessings on his departed spirit:—

Ah! spare yon emmet, rich in hoarded grain;
He lives with pleasure, and he dies with pain.

This may be only a confession of weakness, and it certainly is not meant as a boast of peculiar sensibility; but whatever name may be given to my opinion, it has such an effect on my conduct, that I never would suffer the *cocila*, whose wild native wood-notes announce the approach of spring, to be caught in my garden, for the sake of comparing it with Buffon's description; though I have often examined the domestic and engaging *Mayana*, which 'bids us good morrow' at our windows, and expects, as its reward, little more than security: even when a fine young *manis* or *pangolin* was brought to me, against my wish, from the mountains, I solicited his restoration to his beloved rocks, because I found it impossible to preserve him in comfort at a distance from them."

I have noticed his cheerful and assiduous performance of his filial and fraternal duty: "To the other virtues of Mr. Jones," (I quote the testimony and words of Professor Bjornshal, who visited Oxford whilst Sir William Jones resided there, obligingly communicated to me by Dr.

Ford of Mag. Hall,) "I ought to add that of filial duty, which he displays at all times in the most exemplary manner. I am not singular in the observation here made; every one acquainted with Mr. Jones makes it likewise. I feel a pleasure in dwelling upon a character that does such high honour to human nature." The unceasing regret of Lady Jones is a proof of his claim upon her conjugal affections; and I could dwell with rapture on the affability of his conversation and manners,—on his modest, unassuming deportment; nor can I refrain from remarking, that he was totally free from pedantry, as well as from that arrogance and self-sufficiency which sometimes accompany and disgrace the greatest abilities: his presence was the delight of every society, which his conversation exhilarated and improved.

His intercourse with the Indian natives of character and abilities was extensive: he liberally rewarded those by whom he was served and assisted, and his dependents were treated by him as friends. Under this denomination, he has frequently mentioned in his works the names of Bahman, a native of Yezd, and follower of the doctrines of Zoroaster, whom he retained in his pay, and whose death he often adverted to with regret. Nor can I resist the impulse which I feel to repeat an anecdote of what occurred after his demise: the pundits who were in the habit of attending him, when I saw them at a public *darbar*, a few days after that melancholy event, could neither restrain their tears for his loss, nor find terms to express their admiration at the wonderful progress which he had made in the sciences which they professed.*

* The following is a translation of a Sanscrit note written to Sir William Jones, by a venerable pundit, whom he employed in superintending the compilation of Hindu law. From my own communications with the writer of the note, I can venture to assert, that

If this character of Sir William Jones be not exaggerated by the partiality of friendship, we shall all apply to him his own words, "It is happy for us that this man was born." I have borrowed the application of them from Dr. Parr: and who more competent can be found to estimate the merit of the great scholar whom he deems worthy of this eulogium?

In the pleasing office of delineating his virtues, my regret for his loss has been suspended, but will never be obliterated; and whilst I cherish with pride the recollection that he honoured me with his esteem, I cannot cease to feel and lament that the voice to which I listened with rapture and improvement is heard no more.

As far as happiness may be considered dependent upon the attainment of our wishes, he possessed it. At the period of his death, by a prudent attention to economy,

his expressions of respect for Sir William Jones, although in the Oriental style, were most sincere.

"Trivédi Servoru Sarman, who depends on you alone for support, presents his humble duty, with a hundred benedictions.

"VERSES.

"1. To you there are many like me; yet to me there is none like you, but yourself: there are numerous groves of night-flowers; yet the night-flower sees nothing like the moon, but the moon.

"2. A hundred chiefs rule the world; but thou art an ocean, and they are mere wells: many luminaries are awake in the sky; but which of them can be compared to the sun?"

"Many words are needless to inform those who know all things. The law-tract of *Atri* will be delivered by the hand of the footman, dispatched by your Excellence.—Prosperity attend you!"

I add a translation of two couplets in elegant Arabic, addressed by Maulavi Casim to Sir William Jones. The writer was employed by him in compiling the Mohammedan law.

"Mayest thou remain with us perpetually, for thy presence is an ornament and a delight to the age!

"May no unpleasant event find its way to thee; and mayest thou have no share in the vicissitudes of fortune!"

which never encroached upon his liberality, he had acquired a competency, and was in a situation to enjoy dignity with independence. For this acquisition he was indebted to the exertion of his talents and abilities,—of energies well directed, and usefully applied to the benefit of his country and mankind. He had obtained a reputation which might gratify the highest ambition; and as far as human happiness is also connected with expectation, he had in prospect a variety of employments, the execution of which depended only on the continuance of his health and intellectual powers. I shall not here enlarge upon the common topic of the vanity of human wishes, prospects, and enjoyments, which my subject naturally suggests; but if my reader should not participate that admiration which the memory of Sir William Jones excites in my mind, I must submit to the mortification of having depreciated a character which I had fondly hoped would be effectually emblazoned by its own excellence, if I did but simply recite the talents and virtues which conspired to dignify and adorn it.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE following epitaph, evidently intended for himself, was written by Sir William Jones, a short time only before his demise. It displays some striking features of his character—resignation to the will of his Creator, love and good-will to mankind, and is modestly silent upon his intellectual attainments:—

AN EPITAPH.

Here was deposited
 the mortal part of a man
 who feared GOD, but not Death ;
 and maintained independence,
 but sought not riches :^{*}
 Who thought
 none below him, but the base and unjust ;
 none above him, but the wise and virtuous :
 Who loved
 his parents, kindred, friends, country,
 with an ardour
 which was the chief source of
 all his pleasures and all his pains ;
 And who, having devoted
 his life to their service
 and to
 the improvement of his mind,
 resigned it calmly,
 giving glory to his CREATOR,
 wishing peace on earth,
 and with
 good-will to all creatures,
 on the [*Twenty-seventh*] day of [*April*]
 in the year of our blessed Redeemer,
 One Thousand Seven Hundred [*and Ninety-four*].

* [Whether Sir William Jones meant this remark to be pointed, I know not ; but it contains by anticipation his own reply to a post-

The Court of Directors of the East India Company embraced an early opportunity of testifying their respect for the merit of Sir William Jones. By an unanimous vote of the Court, it was resolved, that a monument to his memory should be ordered, for the purpose of being erected in St. Paul's Cathedral, with a suitable inscription; and that a statue of Sir William Jones should be prepared at the expense of the Company, and sent to Bengal, with directions for its being placed in a proper situation there.

The posthumous honours paid to his memory by a society of gentlemen in Bengal, who had received their education at Oxford, were no less liberal than appropriate. They subscribed a sum to be given as a prize for the best dissertation on his character and merits, by any of the students at that University; and the proposal, with the sanction of the heads of the University, having been carried into execution, the premium was adjudged to Mr. Henry Philpotts, A. M. Fellow of Magdalen College.

The expectations of my readers would be disappointed, if I were not to mention the solicitude of Lady Jones, and the means adopted by her, for perpetuating the fame of a husband with whom she had lived in the closest union of esteem and affection. Without dwelling upon the elegant monument erected to his memory at her expense, (by Flaxman,) in the ante-chamber of Univer-

humous assertion that he was inordinately avaricious, and devoted himself to the acquisition of wealth. Lord Teignmouth's whole narrative of him refutes this calumny.—S. C. W.]

sity College, Oxford,* her regard for his reputation was more effectually evinced by the publication of his works in an elegant edition of six quarto volumes, in strict conformity to his opinion, that "The best monument that can be erected to a man of literary talents, is a good edition of his works."

On the 27th of January 1795, Sir William Jones was unanimously elected a corresponding member of the *Historical Society of Massachusetts*. The Society had

* The following is the inscription on the monument :—

III. S.

GVLIELMI . JONES . EQVITIS . AVRATI,
QVI . CLARVM . IN . LITERIS . NOMEN . A' . PATRE . ACCEPTVM,
MAGNA . CVMVLAVIT . GLORIA .
INGENIVM . IN . ILLO . ERAT . SCIENTIARVM . OMNIVM . CAPAX,
DISCIPLINISQVE . OPTIMIS . DILIGENTISSIME' . EXCVLTVM .
ERAT . INDOLES . AD . VIRTVTVM . EXIMIA,
ET . IN . IVSTITIA . LIBERTATE . RELIGIONE . VINDICANDA,
MAXIME' . PROBATA .
QVICQVID . AVTEM . VTILE . VEL . HONESTVM
CONSILIIS . EXEMPLO . AVCTORITATE . VIVVS . PROMOVERAT,
ID . OMNE . SCRIPTIS . SVIS . IMMORTALIBVS,
ETIAM . NVNC . TVETVR . ATQVE . ORNAT .
PRÆSTANTISSIMVM . HVNC . VIRVM,
CU'M . A' . PROVINCIA . BENGALA,
UBI . IVDICIS . INTEGERRIMI . MVNVS
PER . DECENNIVM . OBIERAT,
REDITVM . IN . PATRIAM . MEDITARETVR,
INGRVNTIS . MORBI . VIS . OPPRESSIT,
IX . KAL . IVN . . A . C . . MDCCCLXXXIII . . ET . XLVIII .
VT . QVIBVS . IN . ÆDIBVS,
IPSE . OLIM . SOCIVS . INCLARVISSET,
IN . IISDEM . MEMORIA . EIVS . POTISSIMVM . CONSERVARETVR,
HONORARIVM . HOC . MONVMENTVM,
ANNA . MARIA . FILIA . JONATHAN . SHIPLEY . EPISC . . ASAPH .
CONIVGI . SVO . B . . M .
PONI . CURAVIT .

soon the mortification to learn, that, nine months before the date of their vote, the object of their intended distinction was no more. The following letter, notifying the resolution of the Society, was addressed, by the president of it, to Sir William Jones :—

SIR,

Boston, Feb. 7, 1795.

As president, and by the direction of the Massachusetts Historical Society, I have the honour to inclose you a vote of that corporation, by which you are elected a member of it.

You have also, by this conveyance, a few publications, and a copy of our charter: by the latter you will see, as well the legal date, as the design of our institution. We possess a large hall in the centre of Boston, where we deposit those books, publications, and other matters, which may have a tendency to fix and illustrate the political, civil, and natural history of this continent; and we have been very successful in our attempts to collect materials for that purpose.

Your character, and the attention which the world allows you to have paid to learning of this kind, have induced us to pursue such measures as we hope will obtain your good wishes and friendly regard; and we shall have great pleasure in forwarding to you, from time to time, such other books and publications as we may suppose to be acceptable to you.

Any observations from you, or any member of the Society in which you preside, illustrating those facts which compose the natural history of America, or of any other part of the world, will be received as valuable marks of your attention.

As the correspondence of literary and philosophical societies established in different nations is an inter-

course of true philanthropy, and has a manifest tendency to increase that friendship and to support that harmony in the great family of mankind on which the happiness of the world so much depends, it can never solicit your aid without success.—I have the honour to be, with sentiments of the highest respect, your most obedient humble servant,

J. SULLIVAN.

* * * * *

It is certainly to be greatly regretted that Sir William Jones did not live to translate the digest of Hindu law, in the compilation of which he had bestowed so much time and attention. It is, however, satisfactory to know that his benevolent intentions in this laborious work have not been disappointed; and that Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, in the civil service of the East India Company at Bengal, from motives of public spirit and a laudable hope of distinction, has completed a translation of it, with an ability which does him the highest credit. This voluminous work was undertaken and executed by Mr. Colebrooke under the pressure of unintermitted official occupations, and is a proof of literary industry rarely exceeded.

For the gratification of the reader's curiosity, I insert the short but characteristic translation of the preface of the Hindu compilers of the Digest.

PREFACE BY THE COMPILERS.

Having saluted the Ruler of Gods, the Lord of Beings, and the King of Dangers, Lord of Divine Classes, the Daughter of the King of Mountains, the venerable Sages, and the reverend Authors of Books; I, Jaganat'ha, Son of Budra, by command of the Protectors of the Land, compile this book, intitled, *The Sea of Controversial Waves*, perspicuous, diffusive, with its islands and gems, pleasing to the princes and the learned.

What is my intellect? A crazy boat, compared with the sacred code, that perilous ocean. The favour of the Supreme Ruler is my sole refuge, in traversing that ocean with this crazy vessel.

The learned Radhacanta Gonespresada, of firm and spotless mind, Ramamohana Ramanidhee Ganasyama, and Gungadhara, a league of assiduous pupils, must effect the completion of this work, which shall gratify the minds of princes :—of this I have unquestioned certainty.

Embarking on ships, often do men undaunted traverse the perilous deep, aided by long cables, and impelled by propitious gales.

Having viewed the title of loans, and the rest as promulged by wise legislators, in codes of laws, and as expounded by former intelligent authors ;

And having meditated their obscure passages with the lessons of venerable teachers, the whole is now delivered by *me*.

END OF THE MEMOIR.

APPENDIX A.*

The Design of "BRITAIN DISCOVERED," an Heroic Poem, in Twelve Books,

BY WILLIAM JONES.

Ne carmine quidem ludere contrarium fuerit : ideoque mihi videtur
M. Tullius tantum intulisse eloquentiæ lumen, quod in hos
quoque studiorum secessus excurrit. QUINTIL. *Instit.* l. x. 5.

*The Idea of an Epic Poem, at Spa, July 1770,
anno ætat. 23.*

BRITAIN DISCOVERED:

A POEM, IN TWELVE BOOKS.

THE DESIGN.

THE first hint of this poem was suggested by a passage in a letter of Spenser to Sir Walter Raleigh, where, having explained his intention in writing the *Fairy Queen*, he adds, that if he found his image of Prince Arthur and the allegory of the twelve private virtues to be well accepted, he might, perhaps, be encouraged to frame the other part of political virtues in his person, after he came to be king. What Spenser never lived to perform, it is my design in some measure to supply, and in the short intervals of my leisure from the fatigues of the bar, to finish an heroic poem on the excellence of our Constitution, and the character of a perfect King of England.

When this idea first presented itself to my mind,

* Referred to, vol. i. page 207.

I found myself obliged, though unwillingly, to follow the advice of Bossu, who insists that a poet should choose his subject in the abstract, and then search in the wide field of universal history for a hero exactly fitted to his purpose. My hero was not easy to be found; for the story of King Arthur, which might have been excellent in the sixteenth century, has lost its dignity in the eighteenth; and it seemed below a writer of any genius to adopt entirely a plan chalked out by others;—not to mention, that Milton had a design in his youth of making Arthur his hero; that Dryden has given us a sketch of his intended poem on the same subject; and that even Blackmore had taken the same story, whose steps it were a disgrace to follow.

It only remains, therefore, to have recourse to allegory and tradition, and to give the poem a double sense; in the first of which, its subject is simply this,—the discovery of our island by the Tyrian adventurers, who first gave it the name of Britain; in the second, or allegorical sense, it exhibits the character above mentioned, of a perfect king of this country,—a character the most glorious and beneficial of any that the warmest imagination can form. It represents the danger to which a king of England must necessarily be exposed, the vices which he must avoid, and the virtues and great qualities with which he must be adorned. On the whole, *Britain Discovered* is intended as a poetical panegyric on our excellent Constitution, and as a pledge of the author's attachment to it; as a national epic poem, like those of Homer, Virgil, Tasso, Camoëns, designed to celebrate the honours of his country, to display in a striking light the most important principles of politics and morality, and to inculcate these grand maxims: that nothing

can shake our state, while the true liberty of the subject remains united with the dignity of the sovereign; and that, in all states, virtue is the only sure basis of private and public happiness.

A work of this nature might indeed have been written in prose, either in the form of a treatise, after the example of Aristotle, or of a dialogue, in the manner of Tully, whose six books on government are now unhappily lost; or perhaps in imitation of Lord Bolingbroke, who has left us something of the same kind in his *Idea of a Patriot King*: but as poetry has the allowed advantage over mere prose, of instilling moral precepts in a manner more lively and entertaining, it was thought proper to deliver the whole subject in regular measure, under the fiction of an heroic adventure.

The poem will be written in rhyme, like the translation of the *Iliad* by Pope, and of the *Æneid* by Dryden; since it has been found by experience, that the verses of those poets not only make a deeper impression on the mind, but are more easily retained in the memory, than blank verse, which must necessarily be too diffuse, and in general can only be distinguished from prose by the affectation of obsolete or foreign idioms, inversions, and swelling epithets, all tending to destroy the beauty of our language, which consists in a natural sweetness and unaffected perspicuity: not to insist that a writer who finds himself obliged to confine his sentiments in a narrow circle will be less liable to run into luxuriance, and more likely to attain that roundness of diction so justly admired by the ancients. As to the monotony which many people complain of in our English rhymes, that defect, which is certainly no small one, if we admit only those endings which are exactly similar, must be

compensated by a judicious variation of the pauses, an artful diversity of modulation, and chiefly by avoiding too near a return of the same endings.

The machinery is taken partly from the Socratic doctrine of attendant spirits, or benevolent angels, like Thyrsis in the Masque of Comus ; and partly from the Scriptural account of evil spirits worshipped in Asia, under the names of Baal, Astartè, Nisroc, Dagon, Mammon, Moloch,—and in ancient Europe, where Cadmus introduced them under those of Jupiter, Venus, Mars, Neptune, Vulcan, Pluto. If any objection be made to these machines, they may be considered as allegorical, like Spenser's knights and paynims : the good spirits may be said to represent the virtues, and the evil ones the vices.

The action or story of the piece is raised upon the tradition before mentioned, that the Phœnicians first discovered the island of Britain ; but the rest must be wholly supplied by invention.

A prince of Tyre, therefore, whom we may name Britanus or Britan, shocked at the cruelty of his countrymen in sacrificing their prisoners to idols, and at their impiety in paying divine honours to evil spirits, had meditated a voyage to some distant coast ; with which intent, pretending to prepare for an expedition against some rival nation, he had built a number of barques, and secured to his interests a company of enterprising youths, but was doubtful whither he should direct his course, till his attendant spirit, Ramiel, appeared to him in a vision, commending his pious resolution, and advising him to seek a beautiful isle in the West, where, after a variety of dangers on earth and sea, he would reign in peace, and be the progenitor of a noble race, who would profess a true and benevolent religion, and excel all other nations in learning, arts, and valour. At the

same time, the spirit shewed him the picture of a lovely nymph who then ruled the island, attended by damsels of her own nature. The prince, animated by this vision, and deeply enamoured with the idea of the nymph, who, in the allegorical sense, represents Liberty, left the coast of Phœnicia, and sailed towards Egypt.

These circumstances, being previous to the action, are not related till the second book : for, at the opening of the poem, after the usual introduction, the prince is brought with his companions to the mouth of the Nile ; he lands, and advances towards the city of Memphis, but is met in a forest by Ramiel, in the shape of a venerable sage, who conducts him to the palace of the Egyptian king, where he sees the temple of science, the pyramids (then just begun), and other amazing edifices. After a splendid repast, he is desired to relate the motives of his voyage.—The subject of the next book has been already explained ; but it will be diversified, like all the rest, with several speeches, descriptions, and episodes.—The third book begins with a consultation of the evil deities worshipped in Phœnicia, whose various characters are delineated. The debate is opened by Baal, who, in a furious speech, complains of the insult offered to their temples by the expedition of the Tyrians, and discourses with malignity on the future happiness of their descendants. Various stratagems are proposed to obstruct their progress. At last, Astartè offers to allure the chief with the love of pleasure ; Mammon, to tempt him with riches ; Dagon promises to attack his fleet, Nisroc to engage him in a desperate war, Moloch to assist his enemies by his enchantment, and Baal himself to subvert his government, by instilling into his mind a fondness of arbitrary power. In the mean while, the Tyrians are at sea, accompanied by Ramiel, who, in the character of a sage, had offered to

conduct them : they are driven by a tempest back to Cyprus, where Astartè, in the shape of a beautiful princess, like the nymph before described, attempts to seduce the hero by all the allurements of voluptuousness, which he resists at length by the assistance of the guardian spirit, and leaves the island, where he had almost been induced to settle, mistaking it for the western isle described to him in his vision.—In the fourth book, after an invocation to the nymphs of Thames, the virgin Albina is represented conversing with her damsels in Albion ;—her dream, and love of the Tyrian prince, whose image had been shewn to her in a rivulet by the genius of the isle. The Phœnicians, landing in Crete, are received by Baal, who had taken the form of the Cretan king, and discourses to the prince in praise of tyranny, but is confuted by the sage.—The fifth book represents a nation in peace ; a mutiny, raised by the instigation of Baal, is appeased ; arts, manufactures, and sciences begin to flourish. As the Tyrians sail along the coast of the Mediterranean, the sage, at the request of Britan, describes to him the state of Greece, Italy, and the Gauls ; and relates rather obscurely, by way of prophecy, the future glory and decline of Athens and Rome.—The Phœnicians reach the Straits at the opening of the sixth book. The evil spirits assemble, and determine, since most of their stratagems had failed, to attack them by violence. Dagon raises a tempest and a great commotion in the elements, so that the whole fleet is covered with darkness : Ramiel encourages the prince, and, pretending to retire from danger on account of his age, summons a legion of genii, or benevolent angels, and engages the evil spirits in the air. Nisroc, in hopes of intimidating Britan, appears to him in all his horrors ; the prince expostulates with him, and darts a javelin at the spirit, but is seized

by Mammon, and carried in a cloud to a distant part of the globe; upon which, Ramiel, whose power may be supposed to be limited, and who might think that the virtue of the prince should be put to a severe trial, leaves him for a time, and flies, in his own shape, to the mansion of the beneficent genii.—The seventh book is wholly taken up with a description of the opposite hemisphere, to which the prince is conveyed by Mammon, whose palace and treasure are described: the Tyrian chief is almost tempted to desist from his enterprise, and to reside in America with the adorers of Mammon:—the inconveniences of an oligarchy displayed. The evil spirits being dispersed, light returns to the Tyrians, who find themselves in the ocean, but missing their leader and the sage, dispute about the regency, and are on the point of separating;—the danger of anarchy. At length, having an admiral and a commander, they land on the coast of Gaul, at the beginning of the eighth book. Nisroc incites the king of that country to attack them: hence is deduced the origin of the national enmity between the English and French. The guardian spirits assemble; their speeches; the genius of Albion proposes to conduct Albina to the palace of Mammon, in order to rouse the hero from his inactivity.—In the ninth book, the war in Gaul is supported with alternate success, and various heroes distinguish themselves on both sides by their valour or virtue. Moloch contrives an enchanted valley between the Gallic city and the Phœnician camp, which distresses the Tyrians extremely, who, despairing of the prince's return, are encouraged and assisted by Ramiel.—In the tenth book, the genius appears to Albina, relates to her the situation of Britan, and passes with her, disguised like young warriors, through the centre of the earth: they rise on a sudden in the gardens of Mam-

mon, and discover themselves to the prince, who returns with them to Europe.—The malevolent spirits, thus baffled in all their attempts, debate, in the eleventh book, upon taking more vigorous measures, and resolve to hazard a decisive battle with the guardian angels. The war in Gaul continued; a bloody combat; the Tyrians put to flight; Britan and Albina appear and rally them; the evil deities defeated; Gaul subdued; the Phœnicians pass the enchanted valley.—In the last book, the victorious army march along the coast of France, till they discern the rocks of Albion; upon which they embark, and cross the Channel, attended by the invisible genii, who sit in the sails. The nuptials of Britan, who gives his name to the island, with Albina; that is, in the more hidden sense, of Royalty with Liberty. The Tyrians choose their brides among the other nymphs. Ramiel conducts the king and queen of Britain to the top of a high mountain, since called Dover Cliff, whence he shews them the extent of their empire, points to its different rivers, forests and plains, foretels its future glory, and, having resumed his celestial form, flies to heaven; the hero and nymph descend from the mountain astonished and delighted.

BRITAIN DISCOVERED.

BOOK I.

The daring chief who left the Tyrian shore,
And, led by angels, durst new seas explore,
Commands my boldest strain. Through dire alarms,
The shock of tempests, and the clash of arms,
He sought the main where blissful Albion lay,
And, heav'n-defended, took his anxious way.
Though air-born fiends his wand'ring fleet assail'd,
With impious rage; yet love and truth prevail'd.

THE ARGUMENTS.

BOOK I.—The Phœnicians having landed near Tarsus, are unkindly received by the natives ; their leader, Britan, sends Phenix and Hermion, as his ambassadors, to the king of Iberia, who treats them with indignity, rejects the proffered union, and commands them to leave his coast. In the mean time, the prince of Tyre wanders, to meditate on his destined enterprise, into a forest ; where his attendant spirit appears to him in the character of a Druid, warns him of approaching dangers, and exhorts him to visit in disguise the court of King Lusur : he consents ; is conducted to the banks of the Tagus, with a harp and oaken garland ; and is hospitably entertained by the sovereign of Lusitania, who prevails on him to relate the history of his life and fortunes. The narrative begins from his vision of Albion in the groves of Tyre, and his consultation of the Memphian sages, to his arrival in Greece. He visits Dido, his father's sister, then employed in building Carthage. A debate between Phenix and the Carthaginian chiefs on the best possible form of government.

BOOK II.—The gods of India convened on Mount Cailás, by Rudra or Mahádéva, the power of destruction ; their numbers, characters, attributes, and attendants. The goddess Gangá announces the views and voyage of the Tyrian hero ; expresses her apprehensions of his ultimate success, but advises the most vehement opposition to him ; declaring, that his victory will prove the origin of a wonderful nation, who will possess themselves of her banks, profane her waters, mock the temples of the Indian divinities, appropriate the wealth of their

adorers, introduce new laws, a new religion, a new government, insult the Bráhmans, and disregard the sacred ordinances of Brahmá. After a solemn debate, it is agreed to exert all their powers, and to begin with obstructing the passage of the Phœnician fleet into the Atlantic, by hurling a vast mountain into the Straits: they proceed immediately to a variety of hostile machinations.

BOOK III.—The narrative of Britan continued, with a description of the Grecian islands, of the Italian and Gallic shores, and closed with an account of the tempest that compelled him to land on the coast of Iberia. The king of Lusitania, foreseeing the future greatness of the prince, secretly envies him, but promises friendly aid in private, assigning reasons for his inability to give open succour. Britan departs, and proceeds toward Gaul, in order to view the channel and beautiful isle that were destined to perpetuate his name.

BOOK IV.—The hero, still disguised, and attended by his tutelary genius, travels to the coast of Gaul; learns that the king of that country, Gallus, invited by an embassy from Iberia, and instigated by the Hindu god of battles, had resolved to concur in extirpating the Phœnicians; and is apprised, that the Tartessians had actually assailed the works which his army had raised. On this, he returns with incredible celerity; while the benignant genii or spirits, permitted to attend on favoured mortals, hold a splendid convention in the Emphyrean.

BOOK V.—War is begun in form, and various actions of heroes are related; the Indian gods intermix in fight, and are opposed by the guardian spirits. Tartessus taken by storm: in a council of Tyrian chiefs, it is proposed by Lelex to leave the coast victorious, and sail instantly to Albion; but the impracticability of that plan is evinced by a messenger, who announces the sudden ob-

struction of the ships. Britan then proposes, as a measure distressful but necessary, to pursue their course with vigour through Iberia and Gaul; that, if conquered, they might perish gloriously; if conquerors, might seize the hostile galleys, and in them pass the Channel. The proposal is received with bursts of applause, and the Phœnician troops are drawn out in complete array.

BOOK VI.—Various exploits and events in battle. The actions of Indra, god of air, with his seven evil genii; of Rama, Balabadra, Nared, and Cartic. The Tyrians, in deep distress, apply to Lusus, who assists them coldly. The Celts are everywhere successful; and the Gallic fleet covers the bay.

BOOK VII.—The guardian spirit prepares the nymph Albione for prosperous events; encourages Britan, but announces imminent perils; then leaves him, on pretence of assisting at certain Druidical rites. A terrible combat in the air, and at the Straits, between the opposing gods and the tutelary angels; the mountain is rent from the mouth of the Straits, and becomes a floating island, which, being fixed, has the name of Madera, and is given to Lusus. The Phœnician fleet having been with difficulty preserved from the Agnyastra, or fiery darts of Mahésa, sails triumphantly into the Atlantic, after a surprising retreat of the army under the conduct of Britan.

BOOK VIII.—The Druid returns with a relation of oracular answers in the Celtic temples, concerning the destiny of Albion, and the Atlantides, or New World: the future American war, and the defence of Gibraltar, by different names, are obscurely shadowed in the prediction. An obstinate naval fight; in which Britan is wounded by an arrow of fire, but protected and carried from the fleet by his attendant angel.

BOOK IX.—The genius transports Britan to the isle of

Albion; which is described by its mountains, vales, and rivers, then uninhabited, except by nymphs and beings of a superior order. The palace and gardens of Albione; who completes the cure of her lover, and acquiesces in his return to the army; having first, at his request, told her own adventures, and related the separation of her island from the coast of Gaul.

Book X.—The Gallic army arrayed: the actions of their chiefs. A variety of distress involves the Tyrians by sea and land: they are driven to their works, and enclosed on both sides; until their prince appearing suddenly among them, rouses their courage, and performs the most heroic achievements, by which the scale of success is completely turned. This book contains a number of events and episodes; among them is the death and funeral of Melcart, the Tyrian Hercules.

Book XI.—The Indian deities invite those of Tyre and Syria to co-operate with them; prophesying darkly the invasion of their empire by the Croisaders: they excuse themselves, equally averse to the Gauls and to all the nations of Europe. A final conflict; and a complete victory in every element by the Phœnicians over Gallus and Iberus, and by the protecting over the malignant spirits. The victors land in Albion, since called Britain, on the coast of Hama, now Hampshire: a description of the triumph, entertainments, and sports.

Book XII.—The nuptials of Britan and Albione, or, allegorically, of Royalty and Liberty united in the constitution of England. The attending Druid, appearing in his own form and in all his splendour, predicts the glories of the country, and its disasters; but animates, rather than alarms, the hero and nymph, whom he consoles whenever he afflicts them: he recommends the government of the Indians by their own laws. He then

flies, his object being attained, to the celestial regions: they apply themselves to the regulation of their domain and the happiness of their subjects.

The discovery of the British Isles by the Tyrians is mentioned by Strabo, Diodorus, and Pliny; and proved, as well by the Phœnician monuments found in Ireland, as by the affinity between the Irish and Punic languages. Newton places this event about the 883rd year before Christ, and in the 21st after the taking of Troy.

BOOK I.

Genius, or Spirit, or tutelary Power
Of virtue-loving Heav'n, yet uninvok'd
By prophet rapt, or bard in hallow'd shades,
To grace his native minstrelsy; though oft
Thy cares for Britain, thy celestial aid,
Grateful her sons have mark'd; if e'er thou ledst
Her glittering ranks unmatch'd o'er hostile fields,
Or, when her navies hurl'd dismay through Gaul,
Pointedst their lightning, and on some bright mast
Satst like an eagle plum'd with victory,
Oh! fill this glowing bosom whilst I sing
Her charms, her glories, and thy love divine.

What chief, what sage, what hero, train'd by thee
To wisdom, first on this delightful isle
Struck his advent'rous prow? That sacred form
Of state, self-balanc'd, harmony sublime,
Freedom with sov'reignty in sweet accord,
Who constituted first? The Prince of Tyre
Long wand'ring, long depress'd, yet e'er impell'd
Right onward, till fair triumph bless'd his toils,
By godlike worth and beauty's heav'nly charm.

Now were his light-oar'd galleys tempest-tost
To rich Tartessus, on the far-sought shore

Of that proud realm, where Boetis, ample flood,
Rush'd o'er the manors of Iberus old,
Fam'd for the laughing sheaf, the silky fleece,
And many-cluster'd vine ; not fam'd her sons
For meek deportment, or the soothing voice
Of hospitality, and reception mild
In sure abode, to strangers visitant.

From Book VII.

—————As Tibetan mountains rise,
Stupendous, measureless, ridge beyond ridge,
From Himola, below the point far seen
Of Chumaluri, to more lofty steeps,
Cambala vast, then loftier without bound,
Till sight is dimm'd, thought maz'd ; the traveller
Perplex'd, and worn with toil each hour renew'd,
Still through deep vales and o'er rough crags proceeds :
Thus on the beach, now dyed with horrid gore,
Warrior o'er warrior tow'ring, arms on arms,
Dire series, press'd ; one slain, the next more fierce,
Assail'd the Tyrian : he his falchion keen
Relax'd not, but still cloth'd its edge with death,
Disturb'd, yet undismay'd ; stung, not appall'd.

APPENDIX B*.

A Prefatory Discourse to an Essay on the History of the Turks.

THERE is no people in Europe which has raised the terror and excited the curiosity of the Christian world more than the Turks ; nor any, I believe, of whose true genius and manners we have so imperfect a notion : for though a great number of travellers, and among them several excellent men, have from time to time published their observations on various parts of the Turkish empire, yet few of them, as it evidently appears, understood the languages that are spoken in it, without which their knowledge could not fail of being very superficial and precarious.

It has generally happened, that the persons who have resided among the Turks, and who, from their skill in the Eastern dialects, have been best qualified to present us with an exact account of that nation, were either confined to a low sphere of life, or engaged in views of interest, and but little addicted to polite letters or philosophy ; while they, who from their exalted stations and refined taste for literature have had both the opportunity and inclination of penetrating into the secrets of Turkish policy, were totally ignorant of the language used at Constantinople, and consequently were destitute of the sole means by which they might learn, with any degree of certainty, the sentiments and prejudices of so

singular a people: for the Mahometans, naturally ignorant and reserved to men of our religion, will disclose their opinions to those only who have gained their confidence by a long intimacy with them; and the Greek subjects, who have a just detestation of their oppressors, can hardly be supposed to speak of them with tolerable candour. As to the generality of interpreters, we cannot expect from men of their condition any depth of reasoning, or acuteness of observation: if mere words are all they profess, mere words must be all they can pretend to know.

It may therefore be given as a general rule, that no writer can exhibit a just picture of the manners of any people, who has not either conversed familiarly with all ranks of them for a considerable time, or, by a more tedious process, extracted their sentiments from the books that are written in their language; and it is equally true, that the justest description of the Asiatic manners must necessarily be given by those who, besides a complete acquaintance with Oriental literature, have had the advantage of a long residence in the East: for which reason, the most authentic account of a Mahometan nation that ever was published is that of the Persians, by the traveller Chardin, who not only had the most familiar intercourse for many years with the greatest men in Ispahan, but was perfectly acquainted with the Persian histories and poems, from which he has given us many beautiful extracts.

We have great reason to regret, that no relation of equal authority has been written on the manners of the Turks; for, among the many narratives on that subject which have been presented to the public, there are very few that can be recommended to a sensible reader. There are indeed some works in the languages of Eu-

rope, from which, as from so many copious sources, we may draw a variety of real knowledge on this head; and it will not be improper in this discourse to give a list of them, with a few remarks on each, before I proceed to mention the Eastern books, both printed and in manuscript, from which the materials of the following essay were taken. This seems to me a more reasonable and less ostentatious method of producing my authorities, than to fill every page with useless quotations, and references to sections or chapters, which few readers will take the pains to consult.

One of the most ancient, and perhaps the most agreeable of these works, comprises the four epistles of Busbec, on his embassy to Soliman the Second; and his oration on a plan for supporting a vigorous war against the Turks: in all which pieces, his diction is extremely polished and elegant, his observations judicious, his account of public facts indisputably true, and his anecdotes tolerably authentic; but by neglecting to make himself a complete master of the Turkish language, or by his long confinement in Constantinople, he omitted an opportunity of conversing with the finest writers and ablest scholars whom the Othman empire ever produced, and whose beautiful compositions added a lustre to the reign of Soliman.

The Turkish articles in the vast compilation of M. D'Herbelot are of the highest authority, since he drew them from a number of Eastern manuscripts, many of which were composed by Turks themselves, who had at least as fair a chance of knowing their own manners and opinions as any European whatever. It is not possible to be too lavish in the praises of that excellent work, which has the uncommon merit of being no less agreeable than learned; and though it is disposed according to

the order of the alphabet, yet it is so judiciously contrived by the help of reference, that, with all the convenience of a dictionary, it may be read for the most part like a regular treatise.

The *History of Timúr*, or *Tamerlane*, written originally in Arabic, by a native of Damascus, and translated into French by M. Vattier, deserves to be credited, as far as it relates to the conquests of that hero in the Lower Asia, and to his war with the Sultan Bayazid the First, who was forced by the Tartars to raise the siege of Constantinople. The actions of Timúr are related at large in this elegant work, which displays a faithful and interesting picture of the Asiatic manners in the fourteenth century; the author of it was contemporary with the Tartarian warrior, and was eye-witness of the principal facts which he records.

The *Tales of the Forty Visirs*, translated by M. de la Croix, are also undoubtedly authentic; and though they are very inelegant, and in some parts trifling, yet upon the whole they are ingenious, and shew in some degree the turn of mind of the people for whom they were invented. But the most useful translation of a Turkish book that has yet appeared, is that in Italian, of an admirable history by the Mufti Saadeddin, which reaches indeed no lower than the reign of Selim the First; but for the beauty of its composition, and the richness of its matter, may be compared with the finest historical pieces in the languages of Europe.

It will seem ridiculous to place a Turkish dictionary among these authorities; but it is certainly true, that the great repository of Eastern learning compiled by Meninski contains not only the clearest explanation of common words and proper names, but exhibits the most exact specimens of the colloquial expressions and forms

of speech used by the Turks; and a judicious writer will not fail to observe the minutest phrases or even the commonest proverbs of a nation whom he intends to describe, since they sometimes comprise an allusion to local customs, and often include some maxim or received opinion which may serve to set the character of the people in a striking light. It is a remark of Mr. Pope, in answer to a line of Lord Hervey, that a dictionary which gives us anything but words must be not only an expensive, but a very extravagant one: yet methinks, if a dictionary can be found which is not very expensive nor very extravagant, it cannot reasonably be censured for giving us a little real knowledge as well as words.

The *History of the Turks* by the Prince Cantemir *

* It will give me pleasure to pay a small tribute, in this place, to the memory of that excellent man, by vindicating his character from the very unjust and groundless charges of M. de Voltaire, who allows, indeed, that he possessed the united talents of the ancient Greeks, a taste for polite letters and a skill in the art of war. He adds, this Cantemir was supposed to be a descendant of Timúr, known by the name of Tamerlane, because Timúr and Temir sound nearly alike, and because the title of Kan, which Tamerlane bore, is found in the name of Cantemir. Now the truth is, that the syllable Cán is not khán, a title of honour, but kán, blood; and the words Timúr, or Temír, are used indifferently in the Turkish language for Demir, that is, *iron*, which was the precise meaning of Tamerlane's true name; so that Cantemir literally signifies "the blood of Timúr;" and the propriety of this name was confirmed by a Tartarian chief, who assured Demetrius, that a prince of his nation, lineally descended from Tamerlane, had married a Christian woman, from whom the family of the Cantemirs had their origin.—But, continues the French historian, whatever might be the lineage of Cantemir, he owed all his fortune to the Turkish court; and was no sooner invested in his principality of Moldavia, than he betrayed the Sultan his benefactor to the Russian Emperor, from whom he had hopes of greater gain: the Czar, he adds, relying on his promises, advanced in the month of June to the banks of the river Hierasus, or the

far surpasses, in authority and method, every work on the same subject in any European dialect. He was educated at Constantinople, and acquainted from his earliest youth with the genius and manners of the Turks; and as he was eminently skilled in the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages, he was enabled to draw his knowledge of their affairs from the fountain-head: for which reason, if his narrative were not rather too succinct, and if he had dwelt somewhat longer on the subject of the Eastern government and literature, or had unfolded all the causes of the greatness and decline of the Othman empire, his work would have been complete, and my present attempt entirely superfluous. As to his piece, consider-

Pruth, where, by depending on Cantemir, he met the same hardships that his rival Charles had suffered at Pultava, by having trusted to Mazeppa. It must have cost this ingenious writer some pains to have crowded so many errors into so few words. Cantemir inherited an ample fortune from his father, and lived at Constantinople in a splendid retreat, where he amused himself with building palaces near the Bosphorus, and adorning them with the finest remains of old Grecian sculpture that could be procured: while he was engaged in these and other agreeable pursuits, Brancovan, Prince of Valachia, was accused of holding a secret correspondence with the Czar; and Cantemir, who accepted, much against his inclination, the title of Prince of Moldavia, was sent by the Turkish court with orders to seize the person of the rebel. As his revenues were not sufficient to support his new dignity without some indulgence from the court, the Sultan promised to dispense with his paying the usual fine* upon his investiture, and to defray the additional expenses that he might incur on account of the war: but the prince had no sooner reached the capital of Moldavia, than he received orders from the ministers to remit without delay the fines due to the Sultan and the Visir; to collect provisions for an army of sixty thousand Turks; to complete the bridge over the Danube; and to march in person towards Bender before the festival of St. George. The prince, on receiving these commands, with which it was not in his power to

* Called by the Turks pishkesh.

ed as a literary performance, it contains all the qualities which Tully lays down as necessary to constitute a perfect history :* nothing is asserted in it that has the appearance of falsehood, nor any essential thing omitted that has the least colour of truth ; there is no reason to suspect the writer either of partiality or disaffection ; the order of time is accurately preserved, and the description of remarkable places frequently inserted : the author gives his judgment openly on the counsels of kings and generals ; he relates the circumstances of every memorable act, and shews both the causes and consequences of every important event : with regard to the persons, he describes the lives and characters not only of the sultans, but of all the eminent men who bore a considerable share in the great transactions of the nation : and he dresses the whole piece in an easy, natural, and flowing style, without affecting any merit but that of clearness ; except where, for the sake of variety, he drops a few flowery expressions in the Oriental manner. To which may be added, (a qualification that Cicero seems to have

comply, resolved to join the Czar, and was of signal service to him, as it appeared by the great regard which that monarch professed for him till the hour of his death. The distress of Peter was owing to his dependence on the promises of Brancovan, who had engaged to supply the Russians with provisions, yet remained an idle spectator of their calamity, till their camp was threatened with a famine. Thus one of the finest writers of our age accuses a generous and amiable prince of ingratitude, avarice, and perfidy, merely for the sake of comparing him with Mazeppa, and of drawing a parallel between the conduct of Charles XII. and Peter I. ; and he deserves still more to be censured for deviating knowingly from the truth, since it appears from some parts of his General History, that he had read the works of Cantemir, and admired his character.—See the *Life of Charles XII.* book v. ; and the *History of the Russian Empire*, vol. ii. chap. 2.

* Cicero de Oratore, ii. 15.

omitted in the passage just referred to,) that he has made his work extremely agreeable, and has infused into it that exquisite charm,* so necessary in all finished compositions, which makes the reader leave it unwillingly, and return to it with eagerness. It is almost needless to say, after this just encomium, that Cantemir's history renders the compilations of Knolles and Rycart entirely useless; though both of these works are well written, and the former even elegantly for the age in which the author lived:—yet I must do them the justice to acknowledge, that I have borrowed several hints from them, though I could not make any positive assertion upon their authority, as they were both ignorant of the Turkish language; and since a very sensible writer† observes even of Plutarch, that though he was supposed to have resided in Rome nearly forty years at different times, yet he seems never to have acquired a sufficient skill in the Roman language to qualify himself for the compiler of a Roman history, the same objection may certainly be made to the two historians above mentioned; one of whom spent most of his time in a college, and the other, though he resided many years in Turkey, was forced to converse with the Turks by the help of an interpreter.

The letters of a lady, famed for her wit and fine taste, are in everybody's hands; and are highly estimable, not only for the purity of the style and the liveliness of the sentiments, but for the curious picture they give of the Turkish manners in the present age, and particularly of the women of rank at Constantinople, whose apartments could not be accessible to a common traveller.

The author of *Observations on the Government and*

* Φίλτρον καὶ ὕγµα, as the Greeks called it.

† Middleton, in the preface to his *Life of Cicero*.

Manners of the Turks had, from his residence in their metropolis, and the distinguished part that he bore in it, an opportunity of inspecting their customs, and forming a just idea of their character. It is a singular pleasure to me to find many of my sentiments confirmed by the authority of so judicious a writer ; nor do I despair, if this essay should fall into his hands, of giving him a more favourable opinion of the Turkish language, which he supposes to be formed of the very dregs of the Persian and Arabian tongues ; and a higher notion of the Persian poetry, which, he observes, it is almost impossible, as far as he can find, for the best translator to convert even into common sense.

But the latest, and perhaps the most curious, publication on the subject of the Turks, was, *A Treatise on Tactics*, written in Turkish, in the year 1731, and translated two years ago by a foreign nobleman, who added to it a very sensible preface and learned notes. It was the object of this little work to recommend to the Othman court the military discipline of the Christians, and to display the advantage of that artful disposition of their troops, by which the timorous and suspected men are put under a necessity of fighting, even against their will : a disposition which Hannibal, and other great masters in the art of war, have followed with success, and which, if we believe Homer, was even as ancient as the siege of Troy :—

The horse and chariots to the front assign'd ;
The foot, the strength of war, he ranged behind ;
The middle space, suspected troops supply,
Enclosed by both, nor left the power to fly.

POPE'S *Iliad*, iv. 342.

The whole treatise is entertaining and instructive ; and though it is very imperfect, and often erroneous

where the Christians are mentioned, yet it supplied me with many important lights in my enquiry concerning the causes of the greatness and decline of the Turkish empire.

These are the principal works in the languages of Europe, that have fallen into my hands, on the same subject with the following Essay; and though I have borrowed very freely from them all, yet by making this general acknowledgment of my obligations to them, I obviate, I think, any objection that can be made on that head, and cannot justly be reputed a plagiarist, if, to the passages taken from others, I add a series of remarks peculiar to myself. I very soon desisted from my search after the other books on the Turkish affairs in the French and Italian languages; for, after having run over a great number of them, I found them to contain little more than the same facts, which are related more elegantly by the above-mentioned authors, with the addition of some idle fables and impertinent projects. As to the Greek writers of the Byzantine history, who have given us an account of the Turks, it was the less necessary to examine them with attention, as Knolles seems to have reduced them to their quintessence; and, indeed, the generality of those historians were more attentive to the harmony of their periods, and the beauty of their expressions, than either to the truth of the facts which they related, or to the solidity of the remarks deduced from them. They were no longer those excellent Greeks, whose works remain to this age as a perfect example of the noblest sentiments delivered in the purest style: they seemed to think, that fine writing consisted in a florid exuberance of words, and that, if they pleased the ear, they were sure to satisfy the heart: they even knowingly corrupted the Asiatic names, to give them a

more agreeable sound,* by which they have led their successors into a number of ridiculous errors, and have given their histories the air of a romance.

Before I proceed to the books which the Turks themselves have written on their own affairs, it will be necessary to make a digression on their literature in general, lest the opinion which most men entertain of the Turkish ignorance should induce some of them to suspect the authority of these works, or even to doubt of their existence.

It is a ridiculous notion, then, which prevails among us, that ignorance is a principle of the Mohammedan religion, and that the Koran instructs the Turks not to be instructed. I have heard many sensible men inveighing against the mean policy of Mohammed, who they say commanded his followers to be ignorant, lest they should one day or other learn that he had imposed upon them. There is not a shadow of truth in this; Mohammed not only permitted but advised his people to apply themselves to learning. He says expressly in his strange book, where there are many fine ideas mixed with a heap of rubbish, that the man who has knowledge for his portion has received a valuable gift; and among his sayings, which were preserved by his intimate friends, and are now considered as authentic, there are several which recommend learning in the strongest terms; as, "The ink of the learned, and the blood of martyrs, are of equal value in heaven," and "Learning is permitted to all believers, both male and female:" not to mention that precept of his, which is well known, "Seek learning, though it were in China."

* Thus they changed Togrul Beg into Tangrolipix, and Anzo'ddin† into Azatines.

† The strength of religion.

There would be no end of quoting all the striking expressions of this singular man, and the ablest professors of his religion, in praise of knowledge and letters ; indeed, we all know, no modern nation was ever more addicted to learning of every kind than the Arabians ; they cultivated some branches of science with great success, and brought their language to a high degree of clearness and precision ; a proof that they had not only men of taste, but even many philosophers among them : for that language will always be most clear and precise, in which most works of real philosophy have been written. We are willing also to allow, that the Persians have been a polite and ingenious people, which they could not have been without a sufficient culture of their talents. They lay for a long time astonished and stupified at the rapid progress of the Mohammedan arms ; but when they began to revive, and had embraced the religion of their conquerors, they followed their natural bent, and applied themselves with great eagerness to the improvement of their language ; which was by that time grown very rich by its mixture with the Arabic. We are no less candid to the Indians, whom we know to have been a wise and inventive nation ; we read with pleasure their fables of Pilpai ; we adopt their numerical characters ; we divert and strengthen our minds with their game of chess ; and, of late years, we have condescended to look into their writings ; but, by a strange degree of obstinacy, we persist in considering the Turks as rude, savage, and not only unacquainted with the advantages of learning, but even its avowed persecutors.

This prejudice, absurd as it may seem, is of very ancient growth ; it was first brought into Europe at that memorable period when letters began to revive in the West, and has continued to this day without any dimi-

nution. It was the fashion in that age to look upon every person as barbarous who did not study the philosophy of the old Academy; and because the Turks had driven the Greeks from their country, it was immediately concluded that they persecuted even the language and learning of that nation.

It is certain, indeed, that the Turks were for many years wholly addicted to arms; but when they had secured their conquests in Asia, and especially when they were settled in Constantinople, they began to cultivate every species of literature; and their sultans often set them the example. At that time, they were so sensible of the high polish which learning gives to the manners of every nation, that they reflected with disdain on their ancient rudeness; and one of their best poets, quoted by M. d'Herbelot, says, "Although the rude disposition of the Turks seemed to be a disorder that had no remedy, yet when they dispersed the clouds of ignorance with the study of polite letters, many of them became a light to the world." * But here we must be understood to speak merely of poetry, rhetoric, moral philosophy, history, and the less abstruse parts of knowledge; for we must confess, and the Asiatics confess themselves, that they are far inferior to the natives of Europe in every branch of pure and mixed mathematics, as well as in the arts of painting and sculpture, which their religion forbids them to cultivate: a very absurd piece of superstition! which the Persians and Indians wisely neglected, as they knew that their legislator prohibited the imitation of visible objects to the Arabs of his age, lest they should relapse

* But this opinion is contradicted by a satirist, who asserts that, if a Turk excelled in every branch of science, and were the ablest scholar of his age, yet a certain rudeness would ever adhere to his disposition.

into their recent folly of adoring images; and that when the reason of the law entirely ceases, the law itself ought also to cease. They begin, however, to imitate our studies; and they would undoubtedly have made a considerable progress in the sciences, if the press at Constantinople had not failed upon the death of Ibrahim, an officer of the Porte, and what was more singular, a very learned and able printer, whose place has not yet been supplied. This enterprising Turk, who had learned Latin by his own industry, and was no contemptible writer in his native language, founded a set of Arabic types, and printed, under the protection of the court, several pieces of Oriental history, some treatises of geography with maps, and an essay of his own upon the military discipline of the Europeans;* but none of his countrymen have continued his project, because it is impossible to understand the classical writings of the Turks without more than a moderate knowledge of Persian and Arabic, to which none can pretend who have not made those languages their particular study for many years; and this is no doubt the reason why there are fewer men of letters among the Turks than among us; for though an intimate acquaintance with the Greek and Roman authors is necessary to support the character of a scholar, yet a very slight tincture of the ancient language is sufficient for a popular writer, and scarcely any is requisite for a superficial reader.

The Mohammedans in general are passionately fond of history, and not less so of that miscellaneous kind of learning which the Greeks called *πολυμάθεια*, or a general knowledge of a vast variety of subjects.† The Turks

* See a catalogue of the books printed by Ibrahim, at the end of this discourse.

† This kind of learning was called *varia eruditio* by the Romans,

have more historical pieces in their language than most European nations ; and we may judge of their erudition by the large work composed in the seventeenth century by Câtibzâdeh, which contains an accurate account of all the books that had been written till his time in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian.*

These works are very imperfectly known in Europe ; for though Donado, a senator of Venice and ambassador from that state to the Porte, published a short essay in Italian on the literature of the Turks, yet he knew little or nothing of their language, and took all his accounts of their books from an interpreter, who led him into several mistakes.

The golden age of the Turkish learning was the reign of Soliman the Second, or The Legislator, in the sixteenth century : and indeed the most shining period in the history of any nation must certainly be that in which the example of the sovereign gives the nobles a turn for letters, and in which a reputation for knowledge opens a way to riches and honour.

Ali Chelebi, who wrote a very celebrated book of morality, was appointed Molla, or ecclesiastical judge of Adrianople, and, had he lived, would have been raised

among whom Varro was the most eminent for it. The most curious and entertaining works of this nature are, *The Banquet of Athenæus*, *The Nights of Aulus Gellius*, and *The Chiliads of Tzetzes* ; but the Arabians were fonder of this various erudition than any people whatever. This species of writing begins to grow contemptible among us, since nothing can be more trifling than to transcribe our common-place book, and nothing more easy than to quote a multitude of authors in the margin.

* The title of this book is *Cashfo'xonûn*, or *The Discovery of Opinions* ; but it might justly be intitled, *A comprehensive View of the Learning of the Arabs, Persians, and Turks*. M. d'Herbelot has inserted the best part of this work in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

to the dignity of Mufti, or supreme interpreter of the law. He had spent several years in composing an elaborate paraphrase of Pilpai's Fables, in which, however, he was a close imitator of an excellent Persian author, named Cashefi. His work, which he intitled *Homaiûn Námeh*, contains fourteen sections in prose and verse, and a very elegant introduction, and an entertaining preface. I may justly assert, that it comprises all the beauties of the Turkish language; but it is so mixed with Persian and Arabic phrases, that a Turk of no education would not be able to read a page of it. A beautiful copy of this book is preserved in the British Museum, among the manuscripts of Sir Hans Sloane;* and it would be highly useful to any person, who had access to that collection, and wished to learn Turkish; especially as part of it has been translated into French, and part very elegantly into Spanish, by the help of which translations he might pursue his study with incredible ease, provided that he had a moderate knowledge of Arabic, which may truly be called the basis and groundwork of Eastern learning.

This is the principal system of Ethics among the Turks, if we except, perhaps, a moral work on the duties of man, intitled, *Icsiri devlet*, which seems also to be written in a very polished style. The *Tales of the Forty Visirs*, composed by a preceptor of Morad the Second, are amusing and ingenious; but, as they are not remarkable for any beauty of language, they do not deserve to be mentioned as a classical work; since an elegance of diction, as well as a loftiness of sentiment, are necessary to constitute a fine piece of writing.

* No. 3586. In the same collection, No. 5456, is a very agreeable romance, intitled, *The Life of Abu Sina*, by Hassan, preceptor to Morad the Third. Both these books, as well as the rest which follow, are often cited by Meninski.

The noblest historical work in the Turkish language was composed by Saadeddîn, who was Mufti of Constantinople in the reign of Morad the Third. It contains the history of the Othmans, from the founder of that family to Selim I. This elegant work has been translated into Italian by a very able interpreter of the Eastern languages; and the excellent Prince Cantemir has inserted the substance of it in his history of the Turks.

There are a great number of other histories in Turkish, some of the whole Othman family, and some only of distinct reigns; as Solimán Nâneh, *The Life of Soliman*; Selim Nâneh, *The Life of Selim*; and many more, which are highly esteemed by the Turks themselves; yet it must be confessed, that the style of these writers, and principally of Saadeddîn, by no means answers to our ideas of the simple and graceful diction, the kind of writing which Cicero commends, diffused, expanded, and flowing with a natural smoothness; on the contrary, most of their figures are so extravagant, and many of their expressions so ridiculously bombast, that an European must have a very singular taste, who can read them either with pleasure or patience: * but such is the genius of the nation; and we can no more wonder that their rules of composition are different from ours, than that they build their palaces of wood, and sit on sofas instead of chairs.

The Byzantine historians cannot be so easily excused; they had the finest models of composition before them,

* Thus a Turkish historian, instead of saying that a prince was just and pious, tells us that the footstool of his sovereignty was decked with the ornament of piety, and the throne of his dignity embellished with the rich mantle of justice; Rutbeti khilafetleri zineti tekwa ileh arâsteh, we seriri seltanetleri hilyei maadilet ileh pirâsteh; — the two members of which sentence end like a poetical couplet, with similar sounds.

which they neglected; but the Turks cannot be condemned for departing from a standard of taste of which they were wholly ignorant.

It is by no means true, however, that the Asiatic histories are no more than chronicles, and contain no sensible remarks on the conduct of princes, whom they consider, we are told, as something more than mortal; there are indeed many dull compilations in the languages of Asia, as well as in those of Europe; but the most approved historians of the East intersperse their narratives with excellent maxims, and boldly interpose their judgment on the counsels of ministers, and the actions of monarchs, unless when they speak of very recent events and living characters, on which occasions they are more circumspect: and probably Saadeddîn continued his history no lower than the reign of Selim, that he might not be restrained in his reflections by any fear of giving offence.

I have not yet been fortunate enough to meet with the valuable work of Ali Efendi, containing the history of the lives of Mohammed II., Bayazid II., Selim, and Solimán, of which Prince Cantemir gives so high an encomium:—"This book," (says he,) "which is extremely scarce, contains every quality of an excellent history; a noble simplicity of style, a warm love of truth, and an abhorrence of flattery.—I am indebted to this author," continues the prince, "for many striking passages in my own piece."

The Turks have also many treatises on their government, laws, and military institutions, which, if they were translated into some European language, would throw a wonderful light on the manners of this extraordinary nation, and present us with a full view of their real character.

One of the most curious manuscripts that I have seen

in the Turkish language, is a very long roll of silky paper,* containing, as it were, a map of the Asiatic history from the earliest times to Selim the Second: the names of all the patriarchs, prophets, kings, sultans, and califs, who at any time flourished in Asia, are set down in a genealogical order, in which the chronology also is carefully observed; and a summary account of their lives and actions is added to most of them. The writer of it is more explicit with regard to the Othman family. I took care to compare his remarks with my other materials. The whole work is beautifully transcribed; and the name of Mohammed in particular is adorned with a garland of tulips and carnations, painted in the brightest colours.

In the same collection with the preceding work,† is *An History of the Othmans*, from the founder of that race, to Bayazid the Second; it is finely preserved, and written in an easy style. The prefatory chapter contains a just encomium of the first Turkish sultans, whose eminent abilities were a principal cause of the greatness of their empire.

There is another work among Golius's manuscripts,‡ which has been extremely useful to me. It is a register of all the officers of state, the servants of the court, and the Turkish forces, both by land and sea, with the daily and yearly expenses of supporting them, as they were established in the reign of Ahmed the First, at the

* Bodl. Marsh. 196.

† No. 313. Most of the manuscripts in this valuable collection of Marsh, belonged to the very learned Golius, who has written notes in the margins with a black pencil.

‡ Marsh. 454. Golius has written the following title to this book : Imperii Osmanici Canon, continens quæ et quibus stipendia soluta fuerint, imperante Ahmede : unde patet quæ sit imperii illius potentia : Turcice, ex autographo imperiali descriptum.

opening of the last century : the second part contains an enumeration of all the Othman subjects in Europe and Asia, who hold their estates by a military tenure ; with the exact number of soldiers that each province and district can produce. As this register was copied from an original in the imperial treasury, there can be no doubt of its authenticity. But the best modern histories of the Turks are those printed by Ibrahim in the middle of the present century, which, together with several other fruits of that printer's industry, were brought from Constantinople by a late excellent ambassador, and presented to the Royal Society, in whose library they are preserved.

The most agreeable of them is called by the florid title of *Gulsheni Kholafa*,* or *the Rose Garden of the Califs* ; and comprises, in a thin volume in folio, a very elegant history of the Turkish nation, from the Califs of the house of Abbas, one of whom imprudently established a militia of young Turks, to the year of Christ 1717, when Ahmed the Second sat on the Othman throne.

* The author of this fine work was Nazmi Zadi Efendi, who seems to have been in high favour with the Ulema, or lawyers and ecclesiastics of his age. The Mufti, and the two Chief Justices of Asia and Europe, wrote the most profuse encomiums of it, which are prefixed to the book. That of the Mufti has something so ridiculously bombast in it, that the reader will perhaps be pleased to see it literally translated, as it will give him an idea of the flowery style of the Asiatics :

“ As this noble volume and elegant compilation records past events, and lays open the causes of succeeding transactions ; the pure stream of sense that flows from the springs of its expressions, and the flowers of perspicuity that arise from the borders of its rhetoric, together with the splendour of those chiefs who fought for the faith and the empire, and the fragrant roses of the fame of those valiant heroes, are worthy of the attention of all intelligent men, and deserve the inspection of the discerning reader.”

The next is a *History of the Turkish Empire*, from the year 1591, by Naïma: it is printed in two large volumes, and the continuation of it, by Rashed Efendi, fills two more; the fifth volume was added by another hand, and brings it down to 1728, two years before the rebellion, and the deposition of Sultan Ahmed. This excellent work contains a narrative of all the memorable events that happened in the dominions of the Sultan for a period of above an hundred and thirty years; the embassies from all foreign powers, among whom the English are mentioned with regard; the reigns of eleven Othman emperors, from the death of Morád III. to the last great sedition at Constantinople; the lives and characters of the most eminent visiers and learned men who flourished in those reigns; together with a view of the affairs of Asia, and even of Europe, according to the notion that the Turks have of them; which may serve to shew how far their intelligence reaches, and in what light they consider the genius, manners, and influence of the Christian world: we must not be disgusted at their false and absurd opinions concerning us; since the less they know of our counsels and interests, and even the less respect they have for us, the greater advantage we shall obtain in our transactions with them; and the less they are apprised of our real force, the fewer provisions will they have made against it, whenever we shall choose to exert it. For my part, I cannot help thinking, that a juster notion of the government, laws, and policy of the Turks, may be formed by an attentive perusal of Naïma's History, than can be acquired from all the relations of our European travellers; and that a single volume of it, accurately translated, would be more useful to us than the vast collections of Rycaut and Knolles, to which, however, I readily allow the praise that they deserve.

It may reasonably be supposed, that having drawn my materials from these plentiful sources, I mean to present the public with a complete history of the Turks; but I reflected, that among the numerous events which must be recorded in the general history of any nation, there are very few which seem capable of yielding either pleasure or instruction to a judicious reader, who desires to be acquainted with past transactions, not because they have happened, but because he hopes to derive from them some useful lesson for the conduct of his life. It seemed, therefore, more respectful to the public, and it was far more agreeable to my own inclination, to trace out, in the form of an essay, the great outlines only of the Turkish history, leaving all its minuter parts to be coloured by some abler pencil, and perhaps the most interesting of them to be filled up by my rough crayon, as some future occasion, or greater leisure, may invite me. Whatever then be the fate of my performance, I have a claim in one instance to the indulgence of my reader, by having spared him the trouble of running over all the idle fables, and even the dull truths with which my originals abound, and which I have suppressed in great number; since both of them are, in my opinion, highly disgraceful to an historical piece, in which nothing should be written that is fabulous, nor anything, how true soever it may be, but what deserves to be read.*

As to the nature of my piece, though I have intitled it *An Essay on the History of the Turks*; yet, from the age of Elizabeth to the present century, *The History of our Trade to the Levant* is interwoven with it, and a few hints are respectfully offered for its improvement; an

* Three pages of the original are here omitted, as it appears; by a manuscript note, that it was intended to alter them.

object of the highest importance to the whole nation. The part which relates to the *Causes of the Rise and Decline of the Turkish Empire*, was written after the model of M. de Montesquieu's *Considerations on the Greatness of the Romans* ; nor am I under any apprehension of being censured for imitating so excellent a pattern, to which I may justly apply the words of Cicero :—" Demosthenem imitemur. O Dii boni ! quid ergo nos aliud agimus, aut quid aliud optamus ? at non assequimur."

APPENDIX C.

Specimens of his unpublished compositions on the Greek Orators ;—
 Torzetti ;—Ode of Jami ;—Song from the Persian ;—Plassey-
 plain ;—Verses on Miss * * * ;—Au Firmament ;—song ;—sketch
 of a tragedy.

THE following pages contain some compositions of Sir William Jones, which have not been printed.

The first, a little Essay on the Grecian Orators, was written at the University, and exhibits an elegant specimen of his early talents in the composition of Latin; more of the same kind might be added, but the curiosity of the reader on this subject may be gratified by a reference to the second volume of Sir William Jones's Works. The reader will observe the connexion between the Essay now presented to him, and the quotation which concludes the preliminary discourse in the preceding page.

The second is an Italian composition, written by Sir William Jones when he was studying that language; and I rely upon the judgment of a native of Italy, who has pronounced it classical and elegant. The third exhibits a curious specimen of the form and measure of a Persian Ode of Jami, and on this account it is inserted. The fourth, a song from the Persian, is in the measure of the original, and will not be thought deficient in beauty. The remaining compositions require no particular observation.

For want of a fitter opportunity, I here transcribe, from the writing of Sir William Jones, the following lines :—

Bahman (a native of Yezd, and follower of the doctrines of Zoroaster) repeated this morning four glorious

and pious verses, which ought to be engraven on every heart:—

VERSES.

Make the worship of the Great Giver habitual.
 Reflect maturely on the day of thy departure.
 Fear God, and do no wrong to man.
 This is the way to salvation, and this is enough.

No. I.

DE GRÆCIS ORATORIBUS.

Cùm id potissimùm dicendi studiosis adòlescentibus præcipi soleat, ut unum è summis oratoribus deligant, quem totâ mente, tanquam pictores, intueantur, et quem labore maximo imitentur; cùm verò studioso cuivis perdifficile sit oratorem deligere, cui similis esse aut velit aut debeat, visum est mihi pauca de Græcis oratoribus disserere, interque eos præcipuè de Demosthene, quem nemo est, opinor, qui non imitari cupiat, nemo qui eximias ejus virtutes imitando se assequi posse confidat; sed prima appetenti, ut pulchrè ait Cicero, honestum est in secundis vel tertiis consistere.

De oratoribus autem, qui Athenis floruerunt, tractaturus, vereor ut Lysiam et Isocratem, in eorum numero possim reponere, quos magis politè scribendi, quàm disertè dicendi, palmam consecutos esse puto, magis elegantix laude fuisse insignes, quàm eloquentix gloriâ. Is enim, qui sive pudore, sive imbecillitate deterritus, in arma nunquam prodeat, sed in ludo solùm oratiunculas scriptitet, utcunque eæ subtiles sint atque eruditæ, scriptor quidem venustus ac diligens dici potest, sed quomodo orator appellandus sit non video.

Alii tamen complures, quorum orationes ad nos pervenerunt, non in pompâ et gymnasio, sed in ipsâ acie

habitæ, eloquentes verè nominantur ; inter quos, acumine Dinarchus præstitisse videtur, vi ac lepore Demades, gravitate Lycurgus, sonitu Æschines et splendore dictionis ; sed hæ dicendi virtutes in Demosthene uno omnes reperiuntur ; gravis idem fuit ac subtilis, vim habuit paritèr et splendorem ; nec lepos sanè illi defuit, licèt plerique alitèr sentiant, sed elatus, minax, et sui proprius.

Illum igitur unicuique vestrùm, qui legum et eloquentiæ studio incenditur, propono, quem in primis miremini, quem imitemini summo studio, cujus orationes non perlegatis solùm, sed patrio sermone reddatis, sed memoritèr recitetis ; ea vos exercitatio diligentèr continuata, tales et verborum oratores, et actores rerum efficiet, qualis apud Athenienses, præter ipsum Demosthenem, nemo fuit.

No. II.

TERZETTI.

Già rosseggiava intorno all' orizzonte
 Dolce color d' oriental rubini,
 E innanzi al biondo padre di Fetonte
 Spargea l'Aurora rose e gelsomini :
 Cantando a gara amorosetti lai
 Sen gian di ramo in ramo gli augellini,
 Quando presso al ruscel così cantai :
 " Ahi, Ninfa mia ritrosa e vezzosetta,
 La prima ond' io m' accesi e m' infiammai,
 Quando ti vidi pria sopra l' erbetta,
 Pien di viole e di ligustri il grembo,
 Tessendo un' amorosa ghirlandetta,
 Sedevi, oimè ! sotto un soave nembo
 Di rose, e la tua mano alabastrina
 Sostenea di tua gonna il ricco lembo,
 E sulla mano era la guancia inchina,
 Qual fior che pende sul nativo stelo,
 Che imbianca, o gelo o pioggia cristallina.

Scendesti allor cred' io dal terzo cielo
 Per ingannar gl' incauti e rozzi petti ;
 O la sorella del gran Dio di Delo,
 O colei fosti che ne' boschi eletti
 Di Cipro e Pafo per Adon sospira.
 Dacchè mirai tuoi risi leggiadretti,
 Rauco era il suon di canna e flauto e lira ;
 Nè piacque più l' usata compagnia.
 Or ogni pastorella che mi mira
 Si burla della mia malinconia ;
 Chè fra romiti monti, e sopra il sasso
 Sempre sfogando vo' l' ambascia mia ;
 Ed erro, non so dove passo passo,
 Piangendo sì, che da sua stanza nera
 Eco risponde a' miei singulti : Ahi lasso !
 Ah, se mai mi darà la donna altera
 Soavi baci, o quel che più desio,
 Allor allor con voce lusinghiera
 Canterò lietamente il fausto Dio
 D' amore : Amor risponderanno i colli :
 Vedranno i vezzi nostri, e 'l gaudio mio
 I cespugli fioriti e gli antri molli."

IMITATIONS.

Line 2. Dolce color, &c.

Dolce color, d' oriental zaffiro
 Che s' accoglieva nel sereno aspetto
 Dell' aer puro.

Dante, Par. c. 1.

Line 5. Cantando a gara, &c.

Odi quel rusignolo
 Che va di ramo in ramo
 Cantando ; Io amo, io amo.

Tasso, Am. at. i. s. 1.

Line 13. Sedevi oimè, &c.

Da' be' rami scendea
 Dolce nella memoria,
 Una pioggia di fior sopra 'l suo grembo ;
 Ed ella si sedea
 Umile in tanta gloria

Covertà già dell' amoroso nembo ;
 Qual fior cadea sul lembo,
 Qual su le trecchie bionde
 Ch' oro forbito e perle
 Eran quel di a vederle :
 Qual si posava in terra, e qual su l'onde :
 Qual con un vago errore
 Girando, pareva dir ; " quì regna Amore."

Pet. par. J. Can. 14.*

Line 35. Soavi baci, &c.

Ella mi segue
 Dar promettendo a chi mi' insegna a lei
 O dolci baci, o cosa altra più cara.
 Tasso, Am. Prologo.

No. III.

AN ODE OF JAMI,

IN THE PERSIAN FORM AND MEASURE.

How sweet the gale of morning breathes !	Sweet news of my <i>delight</i> he brings ;
News, that the rose will soon approach	the tuneful bird of <i>night</i> , he brings.
Soon will a thousand parted souls	be led, his captives, through the sky,
Since tidings, which in every heart	must ardent flames <i>excite</i> , he brings.
Late near my charmer's flowing robe	he pass'd, and kiss'd the fragrant hem ;
Thence, odour to the rose-bud's veil,	and jasmine's mantle <i>white</i> , he brings.
Painful is absence, and that pain	to some base rival oft is ow'd ;
Thou know'st, dear maid ! when to thine ear	false tales, contriv'd in <i>spite</i> , he brings.
Why should I trace love's mazy path,	since destiny my bliss forbids ?
Black destiny ! my lot is woe,	to me no ray of <i>light</i> he brings.
In vain a friend his mind disturbs,	in vain a childish trouble gives,
When sage physician to the couch	of heartsick love-lorn <i>wight</i> he brings.
A roving stranger in thy town,	no guidance can sad JAMI find,
'Till this his name and rambling lay	to thine all-piercing <i>sight</i> he brings.

* Sir William Jones has given a beautiful translation of this passage of Petrarch. See Works, vol. iv. p. 456.

No. IV.

A SONG, FROM THE PERSIAN,

PARAPHRASED IN THE MEASURE OF THE ORIGINAL.

1.

SWEET as the rose that scents the gale,
Bright as the lily of the vale,
Yet with a heart like summer hail,
Marring each bud thou bearest.

2.

Beauty like thine, all nature thrills ;
And when the Moon her circle fills,
Pale she beholds those rounder hills,
Which on the breast thou wearest.

3.

Where could those peerless flowrets blow ?
Whence are the thorns that near them grow ?
Wound me, but smile, O lovely foe,
Smile on the heart thou tearest.

4.

Sighing, I view that cypress waist,
Doom'd to afflict me till embrac'd ;
Sighing, I view that eye too chaste,
Like the new blossom smiling.

5.

Spreading thy toils with hands divine,
Softly thou wavest like a pine,
Darting thy shafts at hearts like mine,
Senses and soul beguiling.

6.

See at thy feet no vulgar slave,
Frantic, with love's enchanting wave,
Thee, ere he seek the gloomy grave,
Thee, his blest idol styling.

No. V.

[Lady Jones having been exposed to some danger in an evening walk over the plains of Plassey, Sir William almost immediately wrote the following stanzas :]

PLASSEY-PLAIN,*

Aug. 3, 1784.

'Tis not of Jáfer, nor of Clive,
On Plassey's glorious field I sing ;
'Tis of the best good girl alive,
Which most will deem a prettier thing.

The sun, in gaudy palanqueen,
Curtain'd with purple, fring'd with gold,
Firing no more heav'n's vault serene,
Retir'd to sup with Ganges old ;

When Anna, to her bard long dear,
(Who lov'd not Anna on the banks
Of Elwy swift, or Testa clear ?)
Tripp'd through the palm groves' verdant ranks,

Where thou, blood-thirsty Subahdár,
Wast wont thy kindred beasts to chase,
Till Britain's vengeful hounds of war
Chas'd thee to that well-destin'd place.

She knew what monsters rang'd the brake,
Stain'd like thyself with human gore,
The hooded and the necklac'd snake,
The tiger huge, and tusked boar.

To worth and innocence approv'd,
E'en monsters of the brake are friends :
Thus o'er the plain at ease she mov'd :—
Who fears offence that ne'er offends ?

* It can scarcely be necessary to recall to the recollection of the reader the victory gained by Lord Clive over Seraj'uddoula, Subahdár, or Viceroy of Bengal, on Plassey-Plain.

Wild perroquets first silence broke,
Eager of dangers near to prate ;
But they in English never spoke,
And she began her moors* of late.

Next, patient dromedaries stalk'd,
And wish'd her speech to understand ;
But Arabic was all they talk'd ;—
Oh, had her Arab been at hand !

A serpent dire, of size minute,
With necklace brown, and freckled side,
Then hasten'd from her path to shoot,
And o'er the narrow causey glide.

Three elephants, to warn her, call,
But they no Western tongue could speak ;
Though once, at Philobiblian stall,
Fame says, a brother jabber'd Greek.

Superfluous was their friendly zeal ;
For what has conscious truth to fear ?
Fierce boars her pow'rful influence feel,
Mad buffaloes, or furious deer.

E'en tigers, never aw'd before,
And panting for so rare a food,
She dauntless heard around her roar,
While they the jackals vile pursu'd.

No wonder, since on Elfin Land,
Prais'd in sweet verse by bards adept,
A lion vast was known to stand,
Fair virtue's guard, while Una slept.

Yet oh ! had ONE her perils known,
(Though all the lions in all space
Made her security their own)
He ne'er had found a resting-place.

* A common expression for the Hindustanee, or vernacular language of India.

No. VI.

ON SEEING MISS *** RIDE BY HIM, WITHOUT KNOWING
HER.

Cardigan, August 14, 1780.

So lightly glanc'd she o'er the lawn,
So lightly through the vale,
That not more swiftly bounds the fawn,
In Sidon's palmy dale.

Full well her bright-hair'd courser knew
How sweet a charge he bore,
And proudly shook the tassels blue,
That on his neck he wore.

Her vest with liveliest tincture glow'd
That Summer blossoms wear,
And wanton down her shoulders flow'd
Her hyacinthine hair.

Zephyr in play had loos'd the string,
And with it laughing flown,
Diffusing from his dewy wing
A fragrance not his own.

Her shape was like the slender pine,
With vernal buds array'd ;
Oh heav'n! what rapture would be mine
To slumber in its shade.

Her cheeks—one rose had Strephon seen,
But, dazzled with the sight,
At distance view'd her nymph-like mien,
And *fainted with delight*.

He thought Diana from the chase
Was hastening to her bow'r ;
For more than mortal seem'd a face
Of such resistless pow'r.

Actæon's fatal change he fear'd,
And trembled at the breeze ;
High antlers had his fancy rear'd,
And quiv'ring sunk his knees.

He well might err—that morn confess'd
The queen with silver beam
Shone forth, and Sylvia thus address'd,
By Tivy's azure stream :

“ Let us this day our robes exchange ;
Bind on my waxing moon ;
Then through yon woods at pleasure range,
And shun the sultry noon.

“ Whilst I at Cardigan prepare
Gay stores of silk and lace,
Like thine will seem my flowing hair,
Like thine my heav'nly grace.

“ My brother Phœbus lost his heart
When first he view'd thy charms,
And would this day, with dang'rous art,
Allure thee to his arms.

“ But Cynthia, friend to virgins fair,
Thy steps will ever guide,
Protect thee from th' enchanting snare,
And o'er thy heart preside.

“ In vain his wiles he shall essay,
And touch his golden lyre ;
Then to the skies shall wing his way,
With pale yet raging fire.

“ Should he with lies traduce the fair,
And boast how oft he kiss'd her,
The gods shall laugh, while I declare
He flirted with his sister.”

No. VII.

AU FIRMAMENT.

" Would I were yon blue field above,"
 (Said Plato, warbling am'rous lays,) " That with ten thousand eyes of love
 On thee for ever I might gaze."

My purer love the wish disclaims,—
 For were I, like Tiresias, blind,
Still should I glow with heavenly flames,
 And gaze with rapture on thy mind.

No. VIII.

SONG.

Wake, ye nightingales, oh wake !
 Can ye, idlers, sleep so long ?
Quickly this dull silence break ;
 Burst enraptur'd into song :
Shake your plumes, your eyes uncloze,
No pretext for more repose.

Tell me not, that Winter drear
 Still delays your promis'd tale,
That no blossoms yet appear
 Save the snowdrop in the dale :
Tell me not the woods are bare ;—
Vain excuse ! prepare ! prepare !

View the hillocks, view the meads :
 All are verdant, all are gay ;
Julia comes, and with her leads
 Health and youth, and blooming May.
When she smiles fresh roses blow ;
Where she treads fresh lilies grow.

Hail ! ye groves of Bagley, hail !

Fear no more the chilling air :

Can your beauties ever fail ?

Julia has pronounc'd you fair.

She could cheer a cavern's gloom,

She could make a desert bloom.

Amongst the manuscript papers of Sir William Jones, written in Bengal, I find the delineation of the plan of a Tragedy on the story of Sohrâb, a Persian hero, who acts a short but conspicuous part in the heroic poem of Ferdûsi, the Homer of Persia. The story in the original is in substance as follows :—

Rustum, the hero of Oriental romance, was married to Tahmina, the daughter of the king of Summungan, a city on the confines of Tartary. He left her in a state of pregnancy, giving her a bracelet, which, in the event of the birth of a child, she was to bind on its arm. She was delivered of a son. Tahmina, apprehensive that Rustum would deprive her of him, informed him that she had a daughter, and Rustum entertained no suspicion of the deceit. Sohrâb inherited the heroic spirit of his father, whom, when he grew up, he was most anxious to see ; and when he had attained the age of puberty, he formed a plan for attacking Kaoos, the king of Persia, in the declared intention of depriving him of his crown, and placing it on the head of Rustum.

Afrasiab, the sovereign of Tartary, who was apprised of the parentage of Sohrâb, eagerly seconded the views of the youth, as a long hereditary enmity had subsisted between the two monarchs of Persia and Tartary. He accordingly offered to furnish Sohrâb with an army, sending with it, at the same time, two generals on whom he relied, with secret instructions to prevent the discovery

of Rustum by Sohrâb, and to endeavour to bring them to a single combat, hoping that the youthful vigour of Sohrâb would overcome Rustum, and pave the way to the conquest of Persia. After the death of Rustum, he proposed to destroy Sohrâb by treachery. This insidious scheme succeeded in part. Sohrâb, with the Tartarian army, invaded Persia, and was opposed by the Persian troops, whom he defeated in several engagements. The anxious endeavours of Sohrâb to discover his father were frustrated by the falsehood and treachery of the generals of Afrasiab; and the two heroes met in battle without knowing each other, although Sohrâb suspected his antagonist to be Rustum, and even mentioned his suspicion to him, which Rustum denied. The two warriors engaged in single combat three times: on the second day, Sohrâb had the advantage, and Rustum saved his life by artifice; on the third, the strength and skill of Rustum prevailed, and he seized the opportunity by plunging his dagger in the breast of his son, who, before he expired, discovered himself to his father, and was recognised by him. The distress of Sohrâb—the affliction of Rustum, increased to agony by the sight of the bracelet, which he had presented to Tahmina, on the arm of Sohrâb, and afterwards exasperated to madness by the refusal of Kaoos to supply him with a remedy which he possessed of infallible efficacy, and the inconsolable anguish of Tahmina on learning the death of her son, are described by Ferdûsi with great beauty and pathos; and the whole story forms one of the most affecting and poetical incidents in the *Shah-nameh*.

I wish it were in my power to gratify the reader with a translation of it; but I want both time and abilities for the task. I shall, however, venture to present him with the version of a few lines, which Ferdûsi puts into the

mouth of Sohrâb, immediately after he had received the fatal wound, describing the mode in which the two heroes discovered each other: the passage (in the original at least) is neither deficient in merit nor interest :

To find a father only known by name,
Wretch that I am, I sought the field of fame.
Vain hope ! thy hand has seal'd a mother's woes ;
On the cold sod my head must now repose.
Yet, hero ! deem not unreveng'd I bleed,
Paternal vengeance marks thy ruthless deed.
No ! couldst thou quit this earth, and viewless trace,
On airy pinions borne, the realms of space,
Or like a fish the ocean's depths pervade,
Or like the night involve thy form in shade,
My sire, pursuing, shall revenge my death.
"What sire ?" the victor cries, with falt'ring breath :
"Rustum !" (the youth rejoins,) "Tahmina fair,
"My spotless mother, nam'd me Rustum's heir."

The plan of the proposed tragedy appears to have been frequently revised and corrected ; the business of each act is detailed ; but, after all, it is too imperfect for publication. From the introduction of a chorus of Persian sages or magi, it may be inferred that Sir William Jones proposed writing it after the model of the Greek tragedy ; and he certainly intended to observe a strict adherence to the costume of the age and country in which the events of his tragedy were supposed to have occurred.

The following Epode is the only part of the composition sufficiently complete for the reader's perusal.

EPODE.

What pow'r, beyond all pow'rs elate,
Sustains this universal frame ?
'Tis not nature, 'tis not fate,
'Tis not the dance of atoms blind,
Ethereal space, or subtile flame ;
No—'tis one vast eternal mind,
Too sacred for an earthly name.

He forms, pervades, directs the whole ;
 Not like the microcosm's imag'd soul,
 But provident of endless good,
 By ways nor seen nor understood,
 Which e'en his angels vainly might explore.
 High, their highest thoughts above,
 Truth, wisdom, justice, mercy, love,
 Wrought in his heav'nly essence, blaze and soar.
 Mortals, who his glory seek,
 Rapt in contemplation meek,
 Him fear, him trust, him venerate, him adore.

I annex a *fac-simile* of the writing of Sir William Jones and I close the volume with some lines on his death written by her Grace the Duchess of Devonshire, and inserted at the particular request of Lady Jones.

ON THE DEATH OF SIR WILLIAM JONES.

Teignmouth, 1793

Unbounded learning, thoughts by genius fram'd
 To guide the bounteous labours of his pen,
 Distinguish'd him, whom kindred sages nam'd
 "The most enlighten'd of the sons of men."*

Upright through life, as in his death resign'd,
 His actions spoke a pure and ardent breast ;
 Faithful to God, and friendly to mankind,
 His friends rever'd him, and his country bless'd.

Admir'd and valued in a distant land,
 His gentle manners all affection won ;
 The prostrate Hindu own'd his fostering hand,
 And Science mark'd him for her fav'rite son.

Regret and praise the general voice bestows,
 And public sorrows with domestic blend ;
 But deeper yet must be the grief of those,
 Who, while the sage they honour'd, lov'd the friend.

* Dr. Johnson.

1883

1884

1885

1886

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1888

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1894

1895

SUPPLEMENT TO LORD TEIGNMOUTH'S MEMOIR OF SIR WILLIAM JONES;

BEING A SELECTION OF EXTRACTS FROM HIS WORKS.

THE Works of Sir William Jones were collected and published by his widow, in the year 1799, in six quarto volumes. Of the character and contents of these Works the reader is already amply informed from Sir William Jones's letters and Lord Teignmouth's narrative; in the course of which, most of Sir William's papers, whether in verse or prose, original or translated, are noticed. These notes, with the copious extracts from Jones's writings embodied in the Memoir, will have sufficed for every purpose of biography: but it has been suggested that as Sir William Jones's Works are expensive and not generally accessible, and are not likely to be reprinted, a selection of extracts from them would form an appropriate Supplement to the present reprint of the Memoir of his Life. Valuable as are his writings to philologists, jurisconsults, and Oriental scholars, there are but few of the pieces which are likely to attract the majority even of well-educated persons. Many of them are composed in foreign languages; and even of the lighter portions, which consist chiefly of translations from the Eastern poets and Oriental imitations, some are so saturated with barbarous mythology as to be unintelligible and repulsive except to a small class of readers, and others are offensive by their anacreontic spirit. Sir William Jones himself remarks, in his "Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations," speaking more particularly of the Arabians, but the observation

applies to them all : " Love has a greater share in their poems than any other passion ; it seems to be almost uppermost in their minds ; and there is hardly an elegy, a panegyric, or even a satire in their language, which does not begin with the complaints of an unfortunate or the exultations of a successful lover." But virtuous affection, however tender or ardent, is not licentiousness ; and it were therefore to be wished that a man of such estimable character as Sir William Jones had refrained from translating what were better not translated, and depicting what it were well to have left in obscurity. Lord Teignmouth, in a discourse delivered before the Asiatic Society in 1794, upon accepting the presidency of that institution, alludes as follows to these " lighter productions" of his learned predecessor :—" Of his lighter productions, the elegant amusements of his leisure hours, comprehending hymns on the Hindu mythology, poems consisting chiefly of translations from the Asiatic languages, and the version of *Sacountala*, an ancient Indian drama, it would be unbecoming to speak in a style of importance which he did not himself annex to them. They shew the activity of a vigorous mind—its fertility, its genius, and its taste."

The following detached extracts from Sir William Jones's Works are given without any attempt at arrangement. They are, for the most part, taken from pieces of considerable length, and often of learned disquisition, the scope and merits of which it were unfair to judge of from the quality of a few unconnected fragments. But though detached sculptured blocks of marble are not a sample of a house, yet if they are conveniently separable, they may be exhibited as general specimens of the artist's style of chiselling—and in this view the following excerpts are presented to the public.

ORIGIN OF INDIAN LANGUAGES.

It is much to be lamented, that neither the Greeks who attended Alexander into India, nor those who were long connected with it under the Bactrian princes, have left us any means of knowing with accuracy what vernacular tongues they found on their arrival in this empire. The Mohammedans, we know, heard the people of proper Hindustan, or India, on a limited scale, speaking a Bháshá, or living tongue of a very singular construction, the purest dialect of which was current in the districts round Agrà, and chiefly on the poetical ground of Mat'hurà; and this is commonly called the idiom of Vraja. Five words in six, perhaps, of this language were derived from the Sanscrit, in which books of religion and science were composed, and which appears to have been formed by an exquisite grammatical arrangement, as the name itself implies, from some unpolished idiom; but the basis of the Hindustáni, particularly the inflexions and regimen of verbs, differed as widely from both those tongues as Arabic differs from Persian, or German from Greek. Now the general effect of conquest is to leave the current language of the conquered people unchanged, or very little altered in its groundwork; but to blend with it a considerable number of exotic names, both for things and for actions; as it has happened in every country that I can recollect, where the conquerors have not preserved their own tongue unmixed with that of the natives, like the Turks in Greece, and the Saxons in Britain: and this analogy might induce us to believe that the pure Hindí, whether of Tartarian or Chaldean origin, was primeval in Upper India, into which the Sanscrit was introduced by conquerors from other kingdoms, in some very remote age; for we cannot doubt that the language of the Védás

was used in the great extent of country which has before been delineated, as long as the religion of Brahmà has prevailed in it.

The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs, and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three without believing them to have sprung from one common source, which perhaps no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothick and the Celtick, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanscrit; and the old Persian might be added to the same family, if this were the place for discussing any question concerning the antiquities of Persia.

INDIAN MYTHOLOGY.

Of the Indian religion and philosophy I shall here say but little, because a full account of each would require a separate volume: it will be sufficient in this dissertation to assume, what might be proved beyond controversy, that (in India) we now live among the adorers of those very deities who were worshipped under different names in old Greece and Italy, and among the professors of those philosophical tenets which the Ionick and Attick writers illustrated with all the beauties of their melodious language. On one hand we see the trident of Neptune, the eagle of Jupiter, the satyrs of Bacchus, the bow of Cupid, and the chariot of the Sun; on another we hear the cymbals of Rhea, the songs of the Muses, and the pastoral tales of

Apollo Nomius. In more retired scenes, in groves and in seminaries of learning, we may perceive the Bráhmáns and the Sarmanes, mentioned by Clemens, disputing in the forms of logic, or discoursing on the vanity of human enjoyments, on the immortality of the soul, her emanation from the Eternal Mind, her debasement, wanderings, and final union with her source. The six philosophical schools, whose principles are explained in the *Darsana Sástra*, comprise all the metaphysics of the old Academy, the Stoa, the Lyceum; nor is it possible to read the *Védánta*, or the many fine compositions in illustration of it, without believing that Pythagoras and Plato derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the sages of India. The Scythian and Hyperborean doctrines and mythology may also be traced in every part of these eastern regions; nor can we doubt that Wod or Oden, whose religion, as the Northern historians admit, was introduced into Scandinavia by a foreign race, was the same with Buddha, whose rites were probably imported into India nearly at the same time, though received much later by the Chinese, who soften his name into Fó.

INDIAN CHRONOLOGY.

The priests of Buddha left in Tibet and China the precise epoch of his appearance, real or imagined, in this empire; and their information, which had been preserved in writing, was compared by the Christian missionaries and scholars with our own era. Couplet, De Guignes, Giorgi, and Bailly, differ a little in their accounts of this epoch, but that of Couplet seems the most correct: on taking, however, the medium of the four several dates, we may fix the time of Buddha, or the ninth great incarnation of Vishnu, in the year 1014 before the birth

of Christ, or two thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine years ago. Now the Cášhmirians, who boast of his descent in their kingdom, assert that he appeared on earth about two centuries after Crishna, the Indian Apollo, who took so decided a part in the war of the Mahábhárat; and if an etymologist were to suppose that the Athenians had embellished their poetical history of Pandion's expulsion, and the restoration of Ægeus, with the Asiatic tale of the Pandus and Yudhishtir, neither of which words they could have articulated, I should not hastily deride his conjecture: certain it is, that Pándumandel is called by the Greeks the country of Pandion. We have, therefore, determined another interesting epoch, by fixing the age of Crishna near the three thousandth year from the present time; and as the first three Avatars or descents of Vishnu relate no less clearly to an universal deluge, in which eight persons only were saved, than the fourth and fifth do to the punishment of impiety and the humiliation of the proud, we may for the present assume, that the second, or silver, age of the Hindus was subsequent to the dispersion from Babel; so that we have only a dark interval of about a thousand years, which were employed in the settlement of nations, the foundations of states or empires, and the cultivation of civil society. The great incarnate gods of this intermediate age are both named Ráma, but with different epithets; one of whom bears a wonderful resemblance to the Indian Bacchus, and his wars are the subject of several heroic poems.

INDIAN ANTIQUITIES.

The remains of architecture and sculpture in India, which I mention here as mere monuments of antiquity,

not as specimens of ancient art, seem to prove an early connexion between this country and Africa: the pyramids of Egypt, the colossal statues described by Pausanias and others, the sphinx and the *Hermes canis*, which last bears a great resemblance to the *Varáhávatara*, or the incarnation of Vishnu in the form of a boar, indicate the style and mythology of the same indefatigable workmen who formed the vast excavations of *Cánárah*, the various temples and images of Buddha, and the idols which are continually dug up at *Gayá* or in its vicinity. The letters on many of these monuments appear, as I have before intimated, partly of Indian, and partly of Abyssinian or Ethiopic origin; and all these indubitable facts may induce no ill-grounded opinion, that Ethiopia and Hindustán were peopled or colonized by the same extraordinary race; in confirmation of which it may be added, that the mountaineers of Bengal and Bahàr can hardly be distinguished in some of their features, particularly their lips and noses, from the modern Abyssinians, whom the Arabs call the children of *Cúsh*: and the ancient Hindus, according to Strabo, differed in nothing from the Africans, but in the straightness and smoothness of their hair, while that of the others was crisp and woolly; a difference proceeding chiefly, if not entirely, from the respective humidity or dryness of their atmospheres: hence the people who received the first light of the rising sun, according to the limited knowledge of the ancients, are said by Apuleius to be the *Arii* and Ethiopians; by which he clearly meant certain natives of India, where we frequently see figures of Buddha with curled hair, apparently designed for a representation of it in its natural state.

INDIAN LITERATURE.

We are told by the Grecian writers, that the Indians were the wisest of nations; and in moral wisdom, they certainly were eminent: their Níti Sástra, or system of ethics, is yet preserved; and the fables of Vishnuserman, whom we ridiculously call Pilpay, are the most beautiful, if not the most ancient, collection of apologues in the world: they were first translated from the Sanscrit, in the sixth century, by the order of Buzerchumihr, or Bright as the Sun, the chief physician, and afterwards Vezír, of the great Anu'shíreván, and are extant under various names in more than twenty languages; but their original title is Hitópádésa, or Amicable Instruction; and, as the very existence of Esop, whom the Arabs believe to have been an Abyssinian, appears rather doubtful, I am not disinclined to suppose that the first moral fables which appeared in Europe were of Indian or Ethiopian origin.

The Hindus are said to have boasted of three inventions, all of which, indeed, are admirable,—the method of instructing by apologues, the decimal scale adopted now by all civilized nations, and the game of chess, on which they have some curious treatises; but if their numerous works on grammar, logic, rhetoric, music, all which are extant and accessible, were explained in some language generally known, it would be found that they had yet higher pretensions to the praise of a fertile and inventive genius. Their lighter poems are lively and elegant; their epic, magnificent and sublime in the highest degree; their Puránas comprise a series of mythological histories in blank verse from the Creation to the supposed incarnation of Buddha; and their Védas, as far as we can judge from that compendium of them which is called Upanishat, abound with noble speculations in

metaphysics, and fine discourses on the being and attributes of God.

LANGUAGE AND MANNERS OF THE ARABS.

The Arabs have never been entirely subdued, nor has any impression been made on them, except on their borders; where, indeed, the Phœnicians, Persians, Ethiopians, Egyptians, and, in modern times, the Othmàn Tartars, have severally acquired settlements; but, with these exceptions, the natives of Hejâz and Yemen have preserved for ages the sole dominion of their deserts and pastures, their mountains and fertile valleys: thus apart from the rest of mankind, this extraordinary people have retained their primitive manners and language, features and character, as long and as remarkably as the Hindus themselves. All the genuine Arabs of Syria whom I knew in Europe—those of Yemen, whom I saw in the Isle of Hinzuân, whither many had come from Maskat for the purpose of trade, and those of Hejaz, whom I have met in Bengal, form a striking contrast to the Hindu inhabitants of these provinces: their eyes are full of vivacity, their speech voluble and articulate, their deportment manly and dignified, their apprehension quick, their minds always present and attentive; with a spirit of independence appearing in the countenances even of the lowest among them. Men will always differ in their ideas of civilization, each measuring it by the habits and prejudices of his own country; but if courtesy and urbanity, a love of poetry and eloquence, and the practice of exalted virtues, be a juster measure of perfect society, we have certain proof that the people of Arabia, both on plains and in cities, in republican and monarchical states, were eminently civilized for many ages before their conquest of Persia.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE TARTARS.

From ancient monuments, we have no proof that the Tartars were themselves well instructed, much less that they instructed the world; nor have we any stronger reason to conclude from their general manners and characters, that they had made an early proficiency in arts and sciences: even of poetry, the most universal and most natural of the fine arts, we find no genuine specimens ascribed to them, except some horrible war-songs expressed in Persian by Ali of Yezd, and possibly invented by him. After the conquest of Persia by the Mongals, their princes, indeed, encouraged learning, and even made astronomical observations at Samarkand; as the Turks became polished by mixing with the Persians and Arabs, though their very nature, as one of their own writers confesses, had before been like an incurable distemper, and their minds clouded with ignorance: thus, also, the Manchen monarchs of China have been patrons of the learned and ingenious; and the emperor Tien Long is, if he be now living, a fine Chinese poet. In all these instances, the Tartars have resembled the Romans, who, before they had subdued Greece, were little better than tigers in war, and fauns or sylvans in science and art.

PERSIAN HISTORY.

It may seem strange, that the ancient history of so distinguished an empire should be yet so imperfectly known; but very satisfactory reasons may be assigned for our ignorance of it: the principal of them are loss of Persian archives or historical compositions. That the Grecian writers before Zenophon had no acquaintance with Persia, and that all their accounts of it are wholly fabulous, is a paradox too extravagant to be seriously

maintained ; but their connexion with it in war or peace had, indeed, been generally confined to bordering kingdoms under feudatory princes ; and the first Persian emperor whose life and character they seem to have known with tolerable accuracy, was the great Cyrus, whom I call, without fear of contradiction, Caikhos'rau.

PERSIAN MYTHOLOGY.

With the religion of the old Persians, their philosophy (or as much as we know of it) was intimately connected ; for they were assiduous observers of the luminaries, which they adored, and established, according to Mohsan, who confirms in some degree the fragments of Berosus, a number of artificial cycles, with distinct names, which seem to indicate a knowledge of the period in which the equinoxes appear to revolve : they are said also to have known the most wonderful powers of nature, and thence to have acquired the fame of magicians and enchanter. But I will only detain you with a few remarks on that metaphysical theology, which has been professed immemorially by a numerous sect of Persians and Hindus, was carried in part into Greece, and prevails even now among the learned Muselmans, who sometimes avow it without reserve. The modern philosophers of this persuasion are called Sûfis, either from the Greek word for a sage, or from the woollen mantle which they used to wear in some provinces of Persia : their fundamental tenets are, that nothing exists absolutely but God ; that the human soul is an emanation from his essence, and though divided for a time from its heavenly source, will be finally reunited with it ; that the highest possible happiness will arise from its reunion, and that the chief good of mankind in this transitory world consists in as perfect an union with the Eternal Spirit as the incumbrances of

a mortal frame will allow; that for this purpose they should break all connexion (or taálluk, as they call it) with extrinsic objects, and pass through life without attachments, as a swimmer in the ocean strikes freely without the impediment of clothes; that they should be straight and free as the cypress, whose fruit is hardly perceptible, and not sink under a load like fruit-trees attached to a trellis; that if mere earthly charms have power to influence the soul, the idea of celestial beauty must overwhelm it in ecstatic delight; that for want of apt words to express the Divine perfections, the ardour of devotion, we must borrow such expressions as approach the nearest to our ideas, and speak of beauty and love in a transcendent and mystical sense; that like a reed torn from its native bank, like wax separated from its delicious honey, the soul of man bewails its disunion with melancholy music, and sheds burning tears, like the lighted taper, waiting passionately for the moment of its extinction, as a disengagement from earthly trammels, and the means of returning to its only beloved. Such in part (for I omit the minuter and more subtle metaphysics of the Súfis, which are mentioned in the Dabistán) is the wild and enthusiastic religion of the modern Persian poets, especially of the sweet Háfiz and the great Maulavì; such is the system of the Védánti philosophers and best lyric poets of India; and as it was a system of the highest antiquity in both nations, it may be added to the many other proofs of an immemorial affinity between them.

CHINESE MYTHOLOGY.

The importation of a new religion into China, in the first century of our era, must lead us to suppose, that the former system, whatever it was, had been found in-

adequate to the purpose of restraining the great body of the people from those offences against conscience and virtue which the civil power could not reach ; and it is hardly possible that without such restrictions any government could long have subsisted with felicity ; for no government can long subsist without equal justice, and justice cannot be administered without the sanctions of religion. Of the religious opinions entertained by Confucius and his followers, we may glean a general notion from the fragments of their works translated by Couplet: they professed a firm belief in the Supreme God, and gave a demonstration of his being and of his providence, from the exquisite beauty and perfection of the celestial bodies, and the wonderful order of nature in the whole fabric of the visible world. From this belief they deduced a system of ethics, which the philosopher sums up in a few words, at the close of the Lúnyù: " He," says Confucius, " who shall be fully persuaded that the Lord of Heaven governs the universe, who shall in all things choose moderation, who shall perfectly know his own species, and so act among them that his life and manners may conform to his knowledge of God and man, may be truly said to discharge all the duties of a sage, and to be far exalted above the common herd of the human race." But such religion and such morality never could have been general ; and we find that the people of China had an ancient system of ceremonies and superstitions, which the government and the philosophers appear to have encouraged, and which has an apparent affinity with some parts of the old Indian worship: they believed in the agency of genii or tutelary spirits, presiding over the stars and the clouds, over lakes and rivers, mountains, valleys, and woods,—over certain regions and towns, over all the elements (of which, like the Hindus,

they reckoned five), and particularly over fire, the most brilliant of them.

ORIGIN OF THE GYPSIES.

It seems agreed that the singular people called Egyptians, and by corruption Gypsies, passed the Mediterranean immediately from Egypt; and their motley language, of which Mr. Grellmaun exhibits a copious vocabulary, contains so many Sanscrit words, that their Indian origin can hardly be doubted: the authenticity of that vocabulary seems established by a multitude of Gypsy words, as *angár* (charcoal), *cáshth* (wood), *pár* (a bank), *bhú* (earth), and a hundred more, for which the collector of them could find no parallel in the vulgar dialect of Hindustán, though we know them to be pure Sanscrit, scarce changed in a single letter. A very ingenious friend, to whom this remarkable fact was imparted, suggested to me, that those very words might have been taken from old Egyptian, and that the Gypsies were Troglodytes, from the rocks near Thebes, where a race of banditti still resemble them in their habits and features; but as we have no other evidence of so strong an affinity between the popular dialects of old Egypt and India, it seems more probable that the Gypsies, whom the Italians call Zingaros and Zinganos, were no other than Zinganians, as M. D'Anville also writes the word, who might, in some piratical expedition, have landed on the coast of Arabia or Africa, whence they might have rambled to Egypt, and at length have migrated or been driven into Europe.

ORIGIN OF FAMILIES OF NATIONS.

I admit without hesitation the aphorism of Linnæus, that "in the beginning God created one pair only of every living species which has a diversity of sex;" but,

since that incomparable naturalist argues principally from the wonderful diffusion of vegetables, and from an hypothesis that the water on this globe has been continually subsiding, I venture to produce a shorter and closer argument in support of this doctrine. That Nature, of which simplicity appears a distinguishing attribute, does nothing in vain, is a maxim in philosophy—and against those who deny maxims we cannot dispute; but it is vain and superfluous to do by many means what may be done by fewer—and this is another axiom received into courts of judicature from the schools of philosophers: we must not therefore, says our great Newton, admit more causes of natural things, than those which are true and sufficiently account for natural phenomena; but it is true, that one pair *at least* of every living species must at first have been created; and that one human pair was sufficient for the population of our globe in a period of no considerable length (on the very moderate supposition of lawyers and political arithmeticians, that every pair of ancestors left on an average two children, and each of them two more) is evident from the rapid increase of numbers in geometrical progression, so well known to those who have ever taken the trouble to sum a series of as many terms as they suppose generations of men in two or three thousand years. It follows that the Author of Nature (for all nature proclaims its divine Author) created but one pair of our species; yet, had it not been (among other reasons) for the devastations which history has recorded, of water and fire, wars, famine, and pestilence, this earth would not now have had room for its multiplied inhabitants. If the human race then be, as we may confidently assume, of one natural species, they must all have proceeded from one pair; and if perfect justice be, as it is most indubitably,

an essential attribute of God, that pair must have been gifted with sufficient wisdom and strength to be virtuous, and, as far as their nature admitted, happy, but intrusted with freedom of will to be vicious and consequently degraded: whatever might be their option, they must people in time the region where they first were established, and their numerous descendants must necessarily seek new countries, as inclination might prompt or accident lead them; they would of course migrate in separate families and clans, which, forgetting by degrees the language of their common progenitor, would form new dialects to convey new ideas, both simple and complex; natural affection would unite them at first, and a sense of reciprocal utility, the great and only cement of social union in the absence of public honour and justice, for which in evil times it is a general substitute, would combine them at length in communities more or less regular; laws would be proposed by a part of each community, but enacted by the whole; and governments would be variously arranged for the happiness or misery of the governed, according to their own virtue and wisdom, or depravity and folly; so that, in less than three thousand years, the world would exhibit the same appearances which we may actually observe on it in the age of the great Arabian impostor.

THE MOSAIC HISTORY.

We have proved that the inhabitants of Asia, and consequently, as it might be proved, of the whole earth, sprang from three branches of one stem: and that those branches have shot into their present state of luxuriance in a period comparatively short, is apparent from a fact universally acknowledged, that we find no certain monu-

ment, or even probable tradition, of nations planted, empires and states raised, laws enacted, cities built, navigation improved, commerce encouraged, arts invented, or letters contrived, above twelve, or at most fifteen or sixteen, centuries before the birth of Christ; and from another fact, which cannot be controverted, that seven hundred or a thousand years would have been pretty adequate to the supposed propagation, diffusion, and establishment of the human race.

The most ancient history of that race, and the oldest composition perhaps in the world, is a work in Hebrew, which we may suppose at first, for the sake of our argument, to have no higher authority than any other work of equal antiquity that the researches of the curious had accidentally brought to light: it is ascribed to Musah; for so he writes his own name, which, after the Greeks and Romans, we have changed into Moses; and though it was manifestly his object to give an historical account of a single family, he has introduced it with a short view of the primitive world, and his introduction has been divided, perhaps improperly, into eleven chapters. After describing with awful sublimity the creation of this universe, he asserts, that one pair of every animal species was called from nothing into existence; that the human pair were strong enough to be happy, but free to be miserable; that from delusion and temerity, they disobeyed their supreme Benefactor, whose goodness could not pardon them consistently with his justice; and that they received a punishment adequate to their disobedience, but softened by a mysterious promise, to be accomplished in their descendants. We cannot but believe, on the supposition just made of a history uninspired, that these facts were delivered by tradition from the first pair, and related by Moses in a figurative style; not in

that sort of allegory which rhetoricians describe as a mere assemblage of metaphors, but in the symbolical mode of writing adopted by Eastern sages to embellish and dignify historical truth ; and if this were a time for such illustrations, we might produce the same account of the creation and the fall, expressed by symbols very nearly similar, from the Púranas themselves, and even from the Véda, which appears to stand next in antiquity to the five books of Moses.

The sketch of antediluvian history, in which we find many dark passages, is followed by the narrative of a deluge which destroyed the whole race of man, except four pairs ; an historical fact admitted as true by every nation to whose literature we have access, and particularly by the ancient Hindús, who have allotted an entire Púrana to the detail of that event, which they relate, as usual, in symbols or allegories. I concur most heartily with those who insist, that in proportion as any fact mentioned in history seems repugnant to the course of nature, or, in one word, miraculous, the stronger evidence is required to induce a rational belief of it ; but we hear, without incredulity, that cities have been overwhelmed by eruptions from burning mountains, territories laid waste by hurricanes, and whole islands depopulated by earthquakes : if, then, we look at the firmament sprinkled with innumerable stars ; if we conclude by a fair analogy that every star is a sun, attracting, like ours, a system of inhabited planets ; and if our ardent fancy, soaring hand in hand with sound reason, waft us beyond the visible sphere into regions of immensity, disclosing other celestial expanses and other systems of suns and worlds on all sides without number or end,—we cannot but consider the submersion of our little spheroid as an infinitely less event in respect of the immeasurable universe, than the

destruction of a city or an isle in respect of this habitable globe. Let a general flood, however, be supposed improbable in proportion to the magnitude of so ruinous an event, yet the concurrent evidences of it are completely adequate to the supposed improbability: but, as we cannot here expatiate on those proofs, we proceed to the fourth important fact recorded in the Mosaic history,—I mean, the first propagation and early dispersion of mankind in separate families to separate places of residence.

Three sons of the just and virtuous man whose lineage was preserved from the general inundation, travelled, we are told, as they began to multiply, in three large divisions variously subdivided: the children of Yáfet seem, from the traces of Sklavonian names, and the mention of their being *enlarged*, to have spread themselves far and wide, and to have produced the race which, for want of a correct appellation, we call Tartarian; the colonies formed by the sons of Ham and Shem appear to have been nearly simultaneous; and, among those of the latter branch, we find so many names incontestably preserved at this hour in Arabia, that we cannot hesitate in pronouncing them the same people whom hitherto we have denominated Arabs; while the former branch, the most powerful and adventurous of whom were the progeny of Cush, Misr, and Rama, (names remaining unchanged in Sanscrit, and highly revered by the Hindús,) were in all probability the race which I call Indian, and to which we may now give any other name that may seem more proper and comprehensive.

The general introduction to the Jewish history closes with a very concise and obscure account of a presumptuous and mad attempt by a particular colony to build a splendid city, and raise a fabric of immense height, independently of the Divine aid, and, it should seem, in

defiance of the Divine power ; a project which was baffled by means appearing at first view inadequate to the purpose, but ending in violent dissension among the projectors, and in the ultimate separation of them. This event seems also to be recorded by the ancient Hindus in two of their Púranas ; and it will be proved, I trust, on some future occasion, that the lion bursting from a pillar to destroy a blaspheming giant, and the dwarf who beguiled and held in derision the magnificent Beli, are one and the same story, related in a symbolical style.

Now these primeval events are described as having happened between the Oxus and Euphrates, the mountains of Caucasus and the borders of India,—that is, within the limits of Irân ; for, though most of the Mosaic names have been considerably altered, yet numbers of them remain unchanged ; we still find Harrán in Mesopotamia, and travellers appear unanimous in fixing the site of ancient Babel.

Thus, on the preceding supposition, that the first eleven chapters of the book which it is thought proper to call Genesis are merely a preface to the oldest civil history now extant, we see the truth of them confirmed by antecedent reasoning, and by evidence in part highly probable, and in part certain : but the connection of the Mosaic history with that of the Gospel by a chain of sublime predictions unquestionably ancient and apparently fulfilled, must induce us to think the Hebrew narrative more than human in its origin, and consequently true in every substantial* part of it, though

* [This qualification is as anti-philosophical as it is derogatory to the plenary inspiration of Holy Scripture : for if Moses wrote under the guidance of Divine inspiration, what he penned must be not only “substantially,” but altogether true ; and modern discoveries in physical science, especially in astronomy and geology, attest the

possibly expressed in figurative language ; as many learned and pious men have believed, and as the most pious may believe, without injury, and perhaps with advantage, to the cause of revealed religion. If Moses then was endued with supernatural knowledge, it is no longer probable only, but absolutely certain, that the whole race of man proceeded from Irân, as from a centre, whence they migrated at first in three great colonies ; and that those three branches grew from a common stock, which had been miraculously preserved in a general convulsion and inundation of the globe.

HUMANITY TO ANIMALS.

Could the figure, instincts, and qualities of birds, beasts, insects, reptiles, and fish be ascertained, either on the plan of Buffon, or on that of Linnæus, without giving pain to the objects of our examination, few studies would afford us more solid instruction or more exquisite delight ; but I never could learn by what right, nor conceive with what feelings, a naturalist can occasion the misery of an innocent bird, and leave its young perhaps to perish in a cold nest, because it has gay plumage, and has never been accurately delineated ; or deprive even a butterfly of its natural enjoyments, because it has the misfortune to be rare or beautiful : nor shall I ever forget the couplet of Firdausi, for which Sadi, who cites it with applause, pours blessings on his departed spirit :

Ah ! spare yon emmet, rich in hoarded grain :

He lives with pleasure, and he dies with pain.

truth of the Mosaic—that is, the inspired narrative. The habit of comparing the Jewish scriptures with the records of pagan nations, though it has strikingly corroborated the truth of the sacred text, has too often led Oriental scholars to forget that the two species of document are as wide asunder as the wisdom of God and the ignorance of erring man.—S. C. W.]

This may be only a confession of weakness, and it certainly is not meant as a boast of peculiar sensibility; but whatever name may be given to my opinion, it has such an effect on my conduct, that I never would suffer the Cócila, whose wild native wood-notes announce the approach of spring, to be caught in my garden for the sake of comparing it with Buffon's description; though I have often examined the domestic and engaging mayanà, which bids us good-morrow at our windows, and expects as its reward little more than security. Even when a fine young manis or pangolin was brought me, against my wish, from the mountains, I solicited his restoration to his beloved rocks, because I found it impossible to preserve him in comfort at a distance from them. There are several treatises on animals in Arabic, and very particular accounts of them in Chinese, with elegant outlines of their external appearance; but I have met with nothing valuable concerning them in Persian, except what may be gleaned from the medical dictionaries; nor have I yet seen a book in Sanscrit that expressly treats of them: on the whole, though rare animals may be found in all Asia, yet I can only recommend an examination of them with this condition, that they be left as much as possible in a state of natural freedom, or made as happy as possible if it be necessary to keep them confined.

ASIATIC MEDICAL SCIENCE.

I have no evidence that in any language of Asia there exists one original treatise on medicine, considered as a science: physic, indeed, appears in these regions to have been from time immemorial, as we see it practised at this day by Hindús and Muselmáns, a mere empirical history of diseases and remedies; useful, I admit, in a high degree, and worthy of attentive examination, but wholly

foreign to the subject before us: though the Arabs, however, have chiefly followed the Greeks in this branch of knowledge, and have themselves been implicitly followed by other Mohammedan writers, yet (not to mention the Chinese, of whose medical works I can at present say nothing with confidence) we still have access to a number of Sanscrit books on the old Indian practice of physic, from which, if the Hindús had a theoretical system, we might easily collect it.

MORAL MAXIMS.

Our Divine religion, the truth of which (if any history be true) is abundantly proved by historical evidence, has no need of such aids as many are willing to give it, by asserting that the wisest men of this world were ignorant of the two great maxims,—that we must act, in respect of others, as we should wish them to act in respect of ourselves,—and that, instead of returning evil for evil, we should confer benefits even on those who injure us; but the first rule is implied in a speech of Lysius, and expressed in distinct phrases by Thales and Pittacus; and I have even seen it word for word in the original of Confucius, which I carefully compared with the Latin translation. It has been usual with zealous men to ridicule and abuse all those who dare on this point to quote the Chinese philosopher; but instead of supporting their cause, they would shake it, if it could be shaken, by their uncandid asperity; for they ought to remember, that one great end of revelation, as it is most expressly declared, was, not to instruct the wise and few, but the many and unenlightened. If the conversion, therefore, of the Pandits and Maulavis in this country shall ever be attempted by Protestant missionaries, they must beware of asserting, while they teach the gospel of truth, what those Pan-

dits and Maulavis would know to be false: the former would cite the beautiful A'ryá couplet, which was written at least three centuries before our era, and which pronounces the duty of a good man, even in the moments of his destruction, to consist, not only in forgiving, but even in a desire of benefiting his destroyer—as the sandal-tree, in the instant of its overthrow, sheds perfume on the axe which fells it; and the latter would triumph in repeating the verse of Sadi, who represents a return of good for good as a slight reciprocity, but says to the virtuous man, Confer benefits on him who has injured thee—using an Arabic sentence, and a maxim apparently of the ancient Arabs. Nor would the Muselmans fail to recite four distichs of Háfiz, who has illustrated that maxim with fanciful but elegant allusions:

Learn from yon orient shell to love thy foe,
And store with pearls the hand that brings thee woe :
Free, like yon rock, from base vindictive pride,
Emblaze with gems the wrist that rends thy side :
Mark, where yon tree rewards the stony show'r
With fruit nectareous, or the balmy flow'r :
All nature calls aloud, " Shall man do less
Than heal the smiter, and the railer bless?"

Now there is not a shadow of reason for believing that the poet of Shiraz had borrowed this doctrine from the Christians; but as the cause of Christianity could never be promoted by falsehood or error, so it will never be obstructed by candour and veracity; for the lessons of Confucius and Chanacya, of Sadi and Háfiz, are unknown even at this day to millions of Chinese and Hindús, Persians and other Mohammedans, who toil for their daily support; nor, were they known ever so perfectly, would they have a Divine sanction with the multitude; so that in order to enlighten the minds of the ignorant, and to enforce the obedience of the perverse, it is evi-

dent *à priori*, that a revealed religion was necessary in the great system of Providence: but my principal motive for introducing this topic, was to give you a specimen of that ancient Oriental morality, which is comprised in an infinite number of Persian, Arabic, and Sanscrit compositions.

SOURCES OF MYTHOLOGY.

There seem to have been four principal sources of all mythology:—I. Historical, or natural, truth has been perverted into fable by ignorance, imagination, flattery, or stupidity; as a king of Crete, whose tomb had been discovered in that island, was conceived to have been the God of Olympus; and Minos, a legislator of that country, to have been his son, and to hold a supreme appellate jurisdiction over departed souls: hence, too, probably flowed the tale of Cadmus, as Bochart learnedly traces it; hence beacons or volcanos became one-eyed giants, and monsters vomiting flames; and two rocks, from their appearance to mariners in certain positions, were supposed to crush all vessels attempting to pass between them: of which idle fictions many other instances might be collected from the Odyssey, and the various Argonautic poems. The less we say of Julian stars, deifications of princes or warriors—altars raised, with those of Apollo, to the basest of men, and divine titles bestowed on such wretches as Cajus Octavianus, the less we shall expose the infamy of grave senators and fine poets, or the brutal folly of the low multitude; but we may be assured, that the mad apotheosis of truly great men, or of little men falsely called great, has been the origin of gross idolatrous errors in every part of the Pagan world.—II. The next source of them appears to have been a wild admiration of the heavenly bodies; and, after a time, the

systems and calculations of astronomers : hence came a considerable portion of Egyptian and Grecian fable, the Sabian worship in Arabia, the Persian types and emblems of Mihr or the Sun, and the far-extended adoration of the elements and the powers of nature ; and hence, perhaps, all the artificial chronology of the Chinese and Indians, with the invention of demigods and heroes to fill the vacant niches in their extravagant and imaginary periods.—III. Numberless divinities have been created solely by the magic of poetry, whose essential business it is to personify the most abstract notions, and to place a nymph or a genius in every grove and almost in every flower : hence Hygeia and Jaso, health and remedy, are the poetical daughters of Æsculapius, who was either a distinguished physician, or medical skill personified ; and hence Chloris, or verdure, is married to the Zephyr.—IV. The metaphors and allegories of moralists and metaphysicians have been also very fertile in deities ; of which a thousand examples might be adduced from Plato, Cicero, and the inventive commentators on Homer, in their pedigrees of the gods, and their fabulous lessons of morality : the richest and noblest stream from this abundant fountain is the charming philosophical tale of Psyche, or the Progress of the Soul ; than which, to my taste, a more beautiful, sublime, and well-supported allegory was never produced by the wisdom and ingenuity of man.

DIVINE INSPIRATION OF THE JEWISH SCRIPTURES.

I, who cannot help believing the Divinity of the Messiah, from the undisputed antiquity and manifest completion of many prophecies, especially those of Isaiah, in the only person recorded by history to whom they are applicable, am obliged of course to believe the sanctity of the venerable books to which that sacred person

refers as genuine (the books of Moses); but it is not the truth of our national religion, as such, that I have at heart—it is truth itself; and if any cool unbiassed reasoner will clearly convince me that Moses drew his narrative, through Egyptian conduits, from the primeval fountains of Indian literature, I shall esteem him as a friend for having weeded my mind from a capital error, and promise to stand among the foremost in assisting to circulate the truth which he has ascertained.

I am persuaded that a connexion subsisted between the old idolatrous nations of Egypt, India, Greece, and Italy, long before they migrated to their several settlements, and consequently before the birth of Moses; but the proof of this proposition will in no degree affect the truth and sanctity of the Mosaic history, which, if confirmation were necessary, it would rather tend to confirm. The Divine legate, educated by the daughter of a king, and in all respects highly accomplished, could not but know the mythological system of Egypt; but he must have condemned the superstitions of that people, and despised the speculative absurdities of their priests; though some of their traditions concerning the creation and the flood were grounded on truth. Who was better acquainted with the mythology of Athens than Socrates? who more accurately versed in the Rabbinical doctrines than Paul? Who possessed clearer ideas of all ancient astronomical systems than Newton? or of scholastic metaphysics than Locke? In whom could the Romish church have had a more formidable opponent than a Chillingworth, whose deep knowledge of its tenets rendered him so competent to dispute them? In a word, who more exactly knew the abominable rites and shocking idolatry of Canaan than Moses himself? Yet the

learning of those great men only incited them to seek other sources of truth, piety, and virtue, than those in which they had long been immersed. There is no shadow then of a foundation for an opinion, that Moses borrowed the first nine or ten chapters of Genesis from the literature of Egypt: still less can the adamantine pillars of our Christian faith be moved by the results of any debates on the comparative antiquity of the Hindús and Egyptians, or of any inquiry into the Indian theology.

THE LOST TEN TRIBES.

We learn from Esdras, that the Ten Tribes, after a wandering journey, came to a country called Arsareth, where we may suppose they settled: now the Afghàns are said by the best Persian historians to be descended from the Jews; they have traditions among themselves of such a descent; and it is even asserted that their families are distinguished by the names of Jewish tribes; although, since their conversion to the Islám, they studiously conceal their origin. The Pushto language, of which I have seen a dictionary, has a manifest resemblance to the Chaldaic; and a considerable district under their dominion is called Hazáreh, or Hazáret, which might easily have been changed into the word used by Esdras. I strongly recommend an inquiry into the literature and history of the Afghàns.

CALCUTTA DEBTORS' JAIL IN 1785.

I turn from these cases, with full confidence both in your justice and your benevolence, to a subject which has greatly moved me, and on which the grand jury last summer presented a strong address to the court: I mean the condition of prisoners for debt in the jail of Calcutta. It is much to be lamented that no method has yet been

devised by Christian nations to keep defendants within the reach of justice, but that of confinement in a common prison, where bad habits are generally learned, and good ones generally discontinued ; where a debtor, perhaps faultless, is withholden from his occupations and from his family, whilst he remains miserable himself, and useless to the public. I cannot help thinking that a better mode might be adopted, with no considerable expense to the state or to individuals, especially if the debtors be workmen or artificers ; and imprisonment in this country, at this season, is to all a grievous calamity ; to many in every season, from a religious notion of a defilement, that reaches beyond the funeral pile, worse than instant death : but, until the wisdom, goodness, and power of the legislature shall co-operate for this end, we can only hope to mitigate an evil which we cannot prevent. You may be assured that no pains will be spared by us in promoting the object of an address which I have mentioned, that whatever can be legally done by the court will not be omitted ; and that, where our authority is limited, we will apply to the executive government here, or, if necessary, to the fountain of all authority at home. It may, perhaps, be within your province to see that affliction be not added to affliction, and that prisoners be not harassed by exorbitant demands : I would not intimate that any such are made by the present keeper of the jail, of whom I know no harm, and have heard a favourable character ; but following the spirit of a benevolent statute, now, I believe, expired, I earnestly exhort you to inquire whether any kind of extortion has been committed, or any fees exacted beyond the moderate provision of the law ; that if such enormity hath been practised under the pretence of custom, the authors of it may be punished, and the sufferers by it relieved.

SLAVERY IN BENGAL IN 1785.

There is another subject which has made a deep impression on my mind, and you will, I trust, accompany, if not anticipate, my remarks upon ;—I mean the misery of domestic bondage, always afflicting enough in itself, and in this town often aggravated by the cruelty of masters. Permit me here to request that you will not consider my observations on this head as relating to the death of the girl, for which Osborne is imprisoned; but his act, whatever may be the guilt of it, must not preclude me from discoursing on other acts of the same nature, the consequences of which have not been so dreadful. It is needless to expatiate on the law (if it be law) of private slavery; but I make no scruple to declare my own opinion, that absolute unconditional slavery, by which one human creature becomes the property of another, like a horse or an ox, is happily unknown to the laws of England, and that no human law could give it a just sanction: yet, though I hate the word, the continuance of it, properly explained, can produce little mischief. I consider slaves as servants under a contract, express or implied, and made either by themselves, or by such persons as are authorized by nature or law to contract for them, until they attain a due age to cancel or confirm any compact that may be disadvantageous to them. I have slaves, whom I rescued from death or misery, but consider them as other servants, and shall certainly tell them so, when they are old enough to comprehend the difference of the terms. Slaves, then, if so we must call them, ought not to be treated more severely than servants by the year or by the month, and the correction of them should ever be proportioned to their offence ;—that it should never be wanton or unjust, all

must agree. Nevertheless, I am assured from evidence which, though not all judicially taken, has the strongest operation on my belief, that the condition of slaves within our jurisdiction is beyond imagination deplorable; and that cruelties are daily practised on them, chiefly on those of the tenderest age and the weaker sex, which, if it would not give me pain to repeat, and you to hear, yet, for the honour of human nature, I should forbear to particularize. If I except the English from this censure, it is not through partial affection to my own countrymen, but because my information relates chiefly to people of other nations who likewise call themselves Christians. Hardly a man or a woman exists in a corner of this populous town who hath not at least one slave child, either purchased at a trifling price, or saved perhaps from a death that might have been fortunate, for a life that seldom fails of being miserable: many of you, I presume, have seen large boats filled with such children coming down the river for open sale at Calcutta; nor can you be ignorant that most of them were stolen from their parents, or bought, perhaps, for a measure of rice in a time of scarcity, and that the sale itself is a defiance of this government, by violating one of its positive orders, which was made some years ago, after a consultation of the most reputable Hindús in Calcutta, who condemned such a traffic as repugnant to their Sástra. The number of small houses in which these victims are pent, makes it, indeed, very difficult for the settlement at large to be apprized of their condition; and if the sufferers knew where or how to complain, their very complaints may expose them to still harsher treatment; to be tortured, if remanded,—or, if set at liberty, to starve. Be not, however, discouraged by the difficulty of your inquiries: your vigilance cannot but surmount it; and one great example of a just punish-

ment, not capital, will conduce more to the prevention of similar cruelties, than the strongest admonition or severest verbal reproof. Should the slaveholders, through hardness of heart, or confidence in their places of concealment, persist in their crimes, you will convince them that their punishment will certainly follow their offence, and the most hardened of them will, no doubt, discontinue the contest. Here, again, I may safely promise you, that whatever the court can do in terminating this evil will cheerfully be done; and if our concurrent labour should yet be found ineffectual, I confidently persuade myself that such regulations of government will be adopted, on our recommendation, as cannot fail of ensuring future protection to the injured, support to the weak, and some consolation at least to the wretched.

ASIATIC OATHS.

I have many reasons to believe, and none to doubt, that affidavits of every imaginable fact may as easily be procured in the streets and markets of Calcutta, especially from the natives, as any other article of traffic. I need not exhort you in general to present perjured witnesses and their suborners of every class and persuasion, but will detain you a few moments longer, with a remark or two on such inhabitants of these provinces as profess a belief in God, and in Mohammed, whom they call his prophet. All the learned lawyers of his religion with whom I have conversed in different parts of India, have assured me with one voice, that an oath by a Musliman is not held binding on his conscience unless it be taken in the express name of the Almighty; and that even then it is incomplete, unless the witness, after having given his evidence, swear again by the same awful name, that he has spoken nothing but the truth. Nor is this abstruse

or refined learning, but generally known to Mohammedans of every degree, who are fully apprised that an imprecation on themselves and their families, even with the Koran on their heads, is in fact no oath at all; and that if, having sworn that they will speak truth, they still utter falsehoods, they can expiate their offence by certain religious austerities; but that if they forswear themselves in regard to evidence already given, they cannot, except by the Divine mercy, escape misery in this world and in the next: it were to be wished that the power of absolution assumed by the Romish priesthood were at least equally limited. My inquiries into the Hindu laws have not yet enabled me to give perfect information on the subject of oaths by the believers in Brahmà; but the first of their law-books, both in antiquity and authority, has been translated into Persian at my request; and thence I learn, that the mode of taking evidence from Hindús depends on the distinction of their casts, but that the punishment of false evidence extends rigorously to all, whether an oath be administered or not; and many Bráhmíns, as well as other Hindús of rank, would rather perish than submit to the ceremony of touching the leaf of the Tulasi, and the water of the Ganges, which their Sástras either do not mention at all, or confine to petty causes. It is ordained in the book of Menu, that a witness shall turn his face to the east or to the north; and as this rule, whatever may have given rise to it, is very ancient, a revival of it may have no inconsiderable effect. According to the same legislator, "a Bráhmaṇ must be sworn by his credit—a Cshatri by his arms—a Vaisya by his grain, cattle, and gold, and a Sudra by every crime that can be committed; but the brevity of this text has made it obscure, and open to different interpretations. The subject is therefore difficult for want of

accurate information, which it is hoped may in due time be procured, and made as public as possible. In general, I observe that the Hindú writers have exalted ideas of criminal justice, and, in their figurative style, introduce the person of Punishment with great sublimity: "Punishment," say they, "with a black complexion and a red eye, inspires terror, but alarms the guilty only: Punishment guards those who sleep, nourishes the people, secures the state from calamity, and produces the happiest consequences in a country where it is justly inflicted; where unjustly, the magistrate cannot escape censure, nor the nation adversity."

JUDICIAL OFFENCES AND THEIR CAUSES.

I never think lightly of the petty complaints, as they are called, which are brought before me: I know that wrath and malice will have a vent; that they are better spent in a court of justice than in black and silent revenge; and that if such serpents be not crushed in the egg, there can be no security against the mortal effects of their venom. You will attend, therefore, I am confident, even to common assaults; (for I need not mention such as were made with any criminal design;) and consider no breach of the peace as trivial, the consequence of which may, possibly at least, be the shedding of human blood. This reasoning leads me to a subject of the highest importance to every community, and particularly (for many weighty reasons) to the inhabitants of this populous town: I mean those offences against good morals and good order, which spring from the dissolute manners of the populace, and branch out into all the disorders and evils that can affect the comfort of social beings. Excessive luxury, with which the Asiatics are too

indiscriminately reproached in Europe, exists indeed in our settlements, but not where it is usually supposed; not in the higher, but in the lowest condition of men; in our servants, in the common seamen frequenting our port, in the petty workmen and shopkeepers of our streets and markets: there live the men who, to use the phrase of an old statute, sleep by day and wake at night for the purposes of gaming, debauchery, and intoxication. The inebriating liquors which are extracted from common trees, and the stupifying drugs which are easily procured from the fields and thickets, afford so cheap a gratification, that the lowest of mankind purchase openly, with a small part of their daily gains, enough of both to incapacitate them by degrees for anything that is good, and render them capable of anything that is evil; and excess in swallowing these poisons is so general, that, if the state had really been lighted up at the higher extremity, as it certainly is at the lower, it must inevitably have been consumed. The mischiefs which this depravity occasions, it is needless to enumerate; but, until some ordinance can be framed, which shall be just in itself and conformable to the spirit of our laws, (both which qualities ought to characterize every regulation in the British empire,) the public has no hope of security, gentlemen, but from your vigilance. Disorderly houses, and places of resort for drinking and gaming, are indictable as public nuisances; and though it would be the work of many sessions to eradicate the evil, yet a few examples of just punishment would have a salutary effect.

INFREQUENCY OF JAIL DELIVERIES.

That you (the grand jury) sit only twice a year, is also, if you will allow me to speak openly, an evil which

I frequently lament ; since the necessity of keeping accused persons within the reach of justice obliges us to confine in prison those who are charged with offences not bailable, or who are unable to find sufficient bail ; so that if a charge is made soon after the end of your sitting, the accused must remain six months in custody, although it may afterwards be proved that the accusation was suggested by malice, and supported by perjury. Such cases, we must hope, very seldom occur ; but so long an imprisonment before conviction, or even indictment, is not conformable to the benignity of our law : and permit me to request, that if any complaints be made to you of exactions or cruelty in the jailer and his servants, or of their loading prisoners with irons, except where there is imminent danger of an escape, especially if it be done with a view to extort money, you will pay a serious attention to the evidence adduced ; so that our nation may never be justly reproached for inhumanity, nor the severest of misfortunes, loss of liberty, be heightened under our government by any additional hardship without redress.

ON THE PUNISHMENT OF FORGERY.

The Armenian whom I mentioned under the head of perjury, being also charged with having forged the bond to the due execution of which he positively swore, after strong and repeated warnings by an interpreter of his own nation, the great question again rises, "Whether the modern statute, which makes forgery capital, extend or not to these Indian territories?" On the fullest consideration, I think the negative supported by stronger reasons than the affirmative. The statute in question seems to have been made on the spur of the time: its principal

object was to support the paper-credit of England, which had just before been affected by forgeries of bank-notes ; and it contains expressions which seem to indicate a local operation ; the punishment which it inflicts goes beyond the law of nature.

THE GRAND JUROR'S OATH.

Your oath, as you may have observed, is a single period, consisting of four members or divisions : and it is a period correctly so called, or in the form, as it were, of a circle ; the awful phrase at the conclusion being manifestly connected in sense with the beginning of it : " So may God help you, as you shall duly perform the promises which you call on him to attest, and which are distinctly enumerated." The phrase which makes the whole period conditional (for it is not imperative, as the first words of each division might seem to imply), is placed at the end, for the purpose of your kissing the Gospel as soon as the name of God has been pronounced, and thus making the whole oath your own, though it has only been read to you by the officer. I called it an awful phrase, because, though in form it invokes the Supreme Being as a defender, yet by implication it addresses Him as an avenger ; and though it openly expresses a benediction, yet it virtually implies an imprecation : the expression could not be full, without raising too violent and too painful an image ; and silence, on this occasion, as on many others, is more sublime than the strongest eloquence. The period thus connected has this apparent meaning : " May the Divine aid be granted to you if the promises now made be performed, and withdrawn if they be violated ;" than which a sublimer idea could not enter the mind of man ; since it is a

clear deduction of reason, that the bare suspension of the Divine energy but for a moment, would cause the instantaneous dissolution of all worlds, and the tumultuous extinction of all who inhabit them.

INSTITUTES OF MENU.

Should a series of Bráhmens omit for three generations the reading of Menu, their sacerdotal class, as all the Pandits assure me, would in strictness be forfeited: but they must explain it only to their pupils of the three highest classes; and the Bráhmen who read it with me, requested most earnestly that his name might be concealed; nor would he have read it for any consideration on a forbidden day of the moon, or without the ceremonies prescribed in the second and fourth chapters for a lecture on the Véda: so great, indeed, is the idea of sanctity annexed to this book, that, when the chief native magistrate at Benares endeavoured, at my request, to procure a Persian translation of it, before I had a hope of being at any time able to understand the original, the Pandits of his court unanimously and positively refused to assist in the work; nor should I have procured it at all, if a wealthy Hindu at Gayà had not caused the version to be made by some of his dependants.

CONCLUDING PASSAGE OF A TREATISE ON THE MOHAMMEDAN LAW OF INHERITANCE.

And now the discourse has come to what we desired
Concerning the distribution of estates, so that it is made clear,
By way of short hint and allusion,
Explained in an abbreviation of the sense.
Praise then to God in perfection,
— e, abundant, complete in eternity;

And let us ask forgiveness for our defects,
 And the best of what we hope in the place aspired to,
 And pardon for what is passed of our sins,
 And a covering for what is passed of our faults;
 And the fairest of salutations and benisons
 On the prophet, the pure, the illustrious,
 Mohammed, the best of created beings, the last of prophets,
 And on his family, bright with glorious qualities,
 And his companions, the excellent, the noble,
 The spotless, the exalted, the beneficent !
 And our sufficient help is God ! O all-sufficient ;
 Endued with greatness, and with power, and with clemency !
 The work is ended. Praise be to God,
 The ruler of worlds ! and his blessing
 And peace on our lord
 Mohammed, the Unlettered Prophet,
 And on his family, and his companions,
 The excellent, the unblemished !
 On Friday night, one of the four nights
 At the close of Shewál, in the year
 Seven hundred and twelve,
 The Transcriber, surnamed
 Fakhro'l Sávikáni
 (or, Excelling his Predecessors),
 Confides in God Most High :
 May God forgive his sins !

 MOHAMMEDAN LAW OF BURIAL.

A regard to public decency and convenience, as well as to public religion and health, seems in all nations to require that the bodies of deceased persons be removed out of sight, with all due speed and solemnity, at a moderate expense, to be defrayed, even before the payment of their just debts, out of the property left by them, on which no legal claim, from hypothecation or otherwise, had previously attached : but the Muselman lawyers, who admit that the funeral charges must in the first

place be defrayed, assign a very whimsical reason for such a priority; because, they say, the winding-sheet and other clothes of the dead are analogous to suitable apparel worn by the living, and consequently should not be liable to the claims of a creditor. The legal expenses of burying a Mohammedan are very moderate, both in the number and value of the clothes in which the deceased is to be wrapped: as more than three pieces of cloth for a man, or than five pieces for a woman, would be held a prodigal superfluity, and less than those a niggardly deficiency of expense; so, if the funeral clothes of Amru or Hinda were dearer than the vesture usually worn by them when alive, it would be a culpable excess; and if cheaper, a blameable defect: but, if in fact they had been used to wear one sort of apparel on solemn festivals, another in visiting their friends, and a third in their own houses, the value of their visiting dress must regulate that of their burial, and either extreme would be too prodigal or too parsimonious.

TASTE OF THE ARABS FOR POETRY.

The fondness of the Arabians for poetry, and the respect which they shew to poets, would be scarce believed, if we were not assured of it by writers of great authority. The principal occasions of rejoicing among them were formerly, and very probably are to this day, the birth of a boy, the foaling of a mare, the arrival of a guest, and the rise of a poet in their tribe. When a young Arabian has composed a good poem, all the neighbours pay their compliments to his family, and congratulate them upon having a relation capable of recording their actions, and of recommending their virtues to posterity. At the beginning of the seventh century, the Arabic language was brought to a high degree of per-

fection by a sort of poetical academy, that used to assemble at stated times, in a place called Ocadh, where every poet produced his best composition, and was sure to meet with the applause that it deserved: the most excellent of these poems were transcribed in characters of gold upon Egyptian paper, and hung up in the temple, where they were named Modhaberbat, or Golden, and Moallakat, or Suspended. The poems of this sort were called Casseidas, or eclogues, seven of which are preserved in our libraries, and are considered as the finest that were written before the time of Mahomed. The fourth of them, composed by Lebid, is purely pastoral, and extremely like the Alexis of Virgil, but far more beautiful, because it is more agreeable to nature.

The Mohamedan writers tell a story of this poet which deserves to be mentioned here. It was a custom, it seems, among the old Arabians, for the most eminent versifiers to hang up some chosen couplets on the gate of the temple, as a public challenge to their brethren, who strove to answer them before the next meeting at Ocadh, at which time the whole assembly used to determine the merit of them all, and gave some mark of distinction to the author of the finest verses. Now Lebid, who, we are told, had been a violent opposer of Mahomed, fixed a poem on the gate, beginning with the following distich, in which he apparently meant to reflect upon the new religion: "Are not all things vain which come not from God? and will not all honours decay but those which he confers?" These lines appeared so sublime that none of the poets ventured to answer them, till Mahomed, who was himself a poet, having composed a new chapter of his Alcoran (the second I think), placed the opening of it by the side of Lebid's poem, who no sooner read it, than he declared it to be something divine,

confessed his own inferiority, tore his verses from the gate, and embraced the religion of his rival, to whom he was afterwards extremely useful in replying to the satires of Amralkeis, who was continually attacking the doctrine of Mahomed: the Asiatics add, that their lawgiver acknowledged some time after that no heathen poet had ever produced a nobler distich than that of Lebid just quoted.

CLIMATE OF PERSIA.

In so vast a tract of land there must needs be a great variety of climates: the southern provinces are no less unhealthy and sultry, than those of the north are rude and unpleasant; but in the interior parts of the empire the air is mild and temperate, and from the beginning of May to September there is scarce a cloud to be seen in the sky. The remarkable calmness of the summer nights, and the wonderful splendour of the moon and stars in that country, often tempt the Persians to sleep on the tops of their houses, which are generally flat, where they cannot but observe the figures of the constellations, and the various appearances of the heavens; and this may in some measure account for the perpetual allusions of their poets and rhetoricians to the beauty of the heavenly bodies. We are apt to censure the Oriental style for being so full of metaphors taken from the sun and moon: this is ascribed by some to the bad taste of the Asiatics: the works of the Persians, says M. de Voltaire, are like the titles of their kings, in which the sun and moon are often introduced; but they do not reflect, that every nation has a set of images and expressions peculiar to itself, which arise from the difference of its climate, manners, and history.

CONCLUSION OF THE LAWS OF MENU.

Thus did the allwise Menu, who possesses extensive dominion, and blazes with heavenly splendour, disclose to me, from his benevolence to mankind, this transcendent system of law, which must be kept devoutly concealed from persons unfit to receive it.

Let every Bráhmén with fixed attention consider all nature, both visible and invisible, as existing in the Divine Spirit : for when he contemplates the boundless universe existing in the Divine Spirit, he cannot give his heart to iniquity.

The Divine Spirit alone is the whole assemblage of Gods ; all worlds are seated in the Divine Spirit, and the Divine Spirit no doubt produces, by a chain of causes and effects consistent with free-will, the connected series of acts performed by embodied souls.

He may contemplate the subtile ether in the cavities of his body ; the air, in his muscular motion and sensitive nerves ; the supreme solar and igneous light, in his digestive heat and his visual organs ; in his corporeal fluids, water ; in the terrene parts of his fabric, earth.

In his heart, the moon ; in his auditory nerves, the guardians of eight regions ; in his progressive motion, Vishnu ; in his muscular force, Hara ; in his organs of speech, Agni ; in excretion, Mitra ; in procreation, Brahmá.

But he must consider the Supreme Omnipresent Intelligence as the sovereign Lord of them all, by whose energy alone they exist ; a Spirit, by no means the object of any sense, which can only be conceived by a mind wholly abstracted from matter, and as it were slumbering ; but which, for the purpose of assisting his medita-

tion, he may imagine more subtile than the finest conceivable essence, and more bright than the purest gold.

Him some adore as transcendently present in elementary fire ; others, in Menu, lord of creatures, or an immediate agent in the creation ; some, as more distinctly present in Indra, regent of the clouds and the atmosphere ; others, in pure air ; others, as the most High Eternal Spirit.

It is He, who, pervading all beings in five elemental forms, causes them, by the gradations of birth, growth, and dissolution, to revolve in this world, until they deserve beatitude, like the wheels of a car. Thus the man who perceives in his own soul the Supreme Soul present in all creatures, acquires equanimity towards them all, and shall be absorbed at last in the highest essence, even that of the Almighty himself.

Here ended the sacred instructor ; and every twice-born man, who, attentively reading this Mánava Sástra promulgated by Bhr̥gre, shall become habitually virtuous, will attain the beatitude which he seeks:

THE GAYATRI OR HOLIEST VERSE OF THE VEDAS.

Let us adore the supremacy of that divine sun, the Godhead, who illuminates all, who recreates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return, whom we invoke to direct our understandings aright in our progress towards his holy seat.

What the sun and light are to this visible world, that are the supreme good and truth to the intellectual and invisible universe ; and as our corporeal eyes have a distinct perception of objects enlightened by the sun, thus our souls acquire certain knowledge by meditating on the light of truth, which emanates from the Being of

beings : that is the light by which alone our minds can be directed in the path to beatitude.

EXTRACTS FROM THE VEDAS.

May that soul of mine, which mounts aloft in my waking hours as an ethereal spark, and which even in my slumber has a like ascent, soaring to a great distance, as an emanation from the light of lights, be united by devout meditation with the Spirit supremely blest and supremely intelligent !

May that soul of mine, by an agent similar to which the low-born perform their menial works, and the wise, deeply versed in sciences, duly solemnize their sacrificial rite,—that soul, which was itself the primeval oblation placed within all creatures,—be united by devout meditation with the Spirit supremely blest and supremely intelligent !

May that soul of mine, which is a ray of perfect wisdom, pure intellect, and permanent existence,—which is the unextinguishable light fixed within created bodies, without which no good act is performed,—be united by devout meditation with the Spirit supremely blest and supremely intelligent !

May that soul of mine, in which, as an immortal essence, may be comprised whatever has past, is present, or will be hereafter,—by which the sacrifice, where seven ministers officiate, is properly solemnized,—be united by devout meditation with the Spirit supremely blest and supremely intelligent !

May that soul of mine, into which are inserted, like the spokes of a wheel in the axle of a car, the holy texts of the Rigveda, the Sáman, and the Yajush,—into which is interwoven all that belongs to created forms,—be united

by devout meditation with the Spirit supremely blest and supremely intelligent !

May that soul of mine, which, distributed in other bodies, guides mankind, as a skilful charioteer guides his rapid horses with reins—that soul which is fixed in my breast, exempt from old age, and extremely swift in its course, be united, by divine meditation with the Spirit supremely blest and supremely intelligent !

SPECIMENS OF THE HITOPADESA.

This damsel, therefore, having heard the discourse of the female messenger, spoke thus : I am wholly at the service of my husband ; how then can this be complied with ?

It is written :

She is a wife, who is attentive to her family ; she is a wife, who is the life of her husband ; she is a wife, who faithfully serves him : she is not to be named a wife, in whom a husband is not happy.

A husband who has called on the fire to attest his faith, is surely the sole asylum of his wife : the beauty of a cocil is his song ; the beauty of a woman is obedience to her husband ; the beauty of the ugly is learning : meekness is the beauty of the pious ; but if the lord of my life shall tell me to do such things, I am ready to do even this great sin ! Is this true ? said the woman. Perfectly true, answered Lavanyavati.

The female emissary reported all this conversation to Turangabala ; and when the prince heard it, he said : The man must be invited, and bring his wife here, and then she may be gained. But how can this be effected ? said the woman,—think of some contrivance.

For it is written :

That may be accomplished by a stratagem which force

cannot accomplish : an elephant was slain by a shakàl, who led him into a quagmire.

Turangabada asked, how that happened? and the old woman answered :

In the forest of Brahma lives an elephant named Carpúratilica, whom, when the shakàls saw, they said among themselves : If this animal can by any stratagem be killed, we shall be supplied with food from his carcase for four months. An old shakàl upon this boldly said : By my sagacity and courage his death shall be effected. He accordingly went close to the elephant, and, saluting him by bending his body, thus addressed him : Divine beast ! grant me the favour of an interview. Who art thou ? said the elephant, and whence dost thou come hither ? I am, replied he, a shakàl, surnamed Little and Wise ; and am sent into thy presence by the assembled inhabitants of these woods. Since the vast forest cannot subsist without a king, it is therefore determined to perform the ceremony of washing thee as sovereign of the forest,—thee, who art possessed of every princely virtue.

Thus it is said :

He who is eminent in birth, virtue, and piety—splendid, just, perfect in morals, is fit to be a ruler in this world.

Again :

Let a man first choose his king, then his wife, and then acquire his property.

If there be no king among mortals, whence can riches flow ? Besides, a king, like the clouds, is the supporter of all animals : when the clouds produce no rain, or the king is vicious, no being can live.

Farther :

A man always intent on gain is bound to act well in this life, almost wholly by the fear of punishment ; and

an honest man is hard to be found! Thus a woman is obliged, by the dread of punishment, to take a husband of her own family, though he be base or dull, sick or poor.

Next, therefore, the fortunate time for thy inauguration should slip away, come quickly. So saying, he rose, and erecting his tail, ran on; while the elephant, conceiving in his mind the desire of royalty, marched in the same road with the shakàl, and stuck in a deep bog. Friend shakàl, said he, what can now be contrived for my escape? I am fallen into a quagmire, and cannot rise out of it. The shakàl said, laughing: Take hold of my tail, my lord, and get out by the help of it. Such is the fruit, said the elephant, of my confidence in your deceitful speech.

And as the poet says:

If thou enjoyest the company of the good, then wilt thou thyself be happy (good); but if thou fallest into company with the wicked, then wilt thou fall indeed! Therefore I said: That may be accomplished by a stratagem, &c.

Charavaca then said: What sort of a counsellor is he, who gratifies the desire of his prince, when he orders what ought not to be done? It is better that the mind of his master should be grieved, than that he should perish through improper conduct.

Hear, O king!

Let me attain what is acquired by virtue; and not resemble the barber, who, through the delusion of a golden vessel, slew the beggar, and was slain himself.

How, asked the king, did that happen?

In the city of Ayodhya, said the minister, lived a soldier, named Chudamani; who, giving himself great

pains in search of wealth, paid particular homage to the god adorned with a crescent; and having committed very few sins, had the felicity of seeing the deity in a dream; who said to him: Shave thyself this morning, and stand concealed behind the gate, with a club in thy hand, with which thou shalt put to death a beggar, who shall come into the court, and instantly the dead body shall be changed into a vessel full of gold; which infallibly shall make thee happy, as long as thou livest and spendest it freely. The soldier did as he was commanded, and gained the treasure; but the barber, who had come to shave him, and saw what happened, thus reasoned within himself: Oh! is that the mode of gaining gold? what then cannot I too perform? From that time, therefore, he stood early in the morning, from day to day, with a club in his hand, waiting for a beggar: and one morning, a poor man, who came to solicit alms, was attacked and slain by him. The king's officers, however, seized him, and he suffered death for the murder. Thence I said: Let me possess what is gained by virtue, and so forth.

A mean person, raised to a high degree, seeks the ruin of his lord: as the mouse, having attained the form and force of a tiger, went to kill the saint.

How, said Chitraverna, did that happen?

There is, answered Duradersin, in the sacred grove of the divine philosopher Gautama, a saint, named Mahàtapas, eminently pious; who seeing a young mouse fall near his dwelling from the bill of a crow, benevolently took him up, and fed him with grains of rice. One day, when the mouse was preparing to eat, a cat appeared; and the kind saint, by the power of his devotion, changed the mouse into a cat. This new animal was soon afterwards terrified by a dog, and was made

one of the same species. At length, being in dread of a tiger, he became a tiger, through the prayers of the saint; who then perceived the difference between a tiger and a cat. All the people said: See how the piety of the saint has changed yon cat into a tiger! Then the ungrateful beast thought within himself: As long as the saint lives, this defamatory discourse will be held concerning my form: with this thought he ran towards his benefactor and attempted to kill him, but was changed, by a short prayer of the heaven-eyed sage, into his natural shape. Thence I said: A mean person, raised to a high degree, seeks the ruin of his lord!

Duradursin rejoined, with a smile: O king! he who delights himself with the thought of what he does not possess, will be like the Brahmen who broke his pot.

How did that happen? said the king.

On the bank of the river Apunarbhavá, (or, giving exemption from any future birth,) to the north of the city Dêvocatara, lived a Brahmen, whose name is Dévasarman. He, at the beginning of the month, when the sun enters the Ram, received from a pious man a little pot full of wheat bread, which he took with him to a potter's house, in part of which he resided. Before he went to rest, he thus said within himself: If I sell this pot, I shall receive ten cowries, with which I shall buy larger pots, and then larger, till my wealth will increase, and I become a seller of areca-nut and cloth: when I am worth a lac of rupees, I will marry four wives; to the handsomest and youngest of whom I shall attach myself, in preference to the rest. This will excite the jealousy of her companions, who will begin to quarrel with her; but I, inflamed with wrath, shall strike them with a stick, thus: so saying, he threw his stick, and broke his pot, together with other vessels; the noise of which alarmed the

potter ; who, entering the room, and seeing the mischief done, turned the disappointed Brahmen out of his house. Thence, I said : He who delights, &c. &c.

Oh ! said the minister, smiling, let not an idle noise be made, like that of a wintry cloud : a great prince takes care not to make known the force or weakness of a stranger.

Besides :

Let not a prince assemble together a number of destroyers : even a proud serpent has been destroyed by a multitude of little insects. O king ! why shouldst thou go without having concluded a peace ? If I march, the Chacra will assail my rear.

Yet farther :

He who knows not the first principle, and first cause,—who is, besides, in subjection to wrath,—is tormented like a fool ; as the Brahmen was who killed the ichneumon.

How, said the peacock, happened that ?

There is, answered Duradursin, in the city of Ujjayani, a Brahmen named Madava, who had a wife ; who having stationed him to watch their only daughter, an infant, went to bathe herself, in adoration of Shashti (Lucina) : soon after the raja sent for the Brahmen to perform the ceremonies of the Párvana Shraddhà (or rites) to all his ancestors ; and he, spying another Brahmen, thus thought, on account of his poverty, within his mind : If I go not speedily, some other, having heard of this, will procure the Shraddhà.

As it is said :

If we take not soon, give not soon, perform not soon, time gives the benefit of it to another.

What must be done ? Yet there is no other person at home to take care of the child. What then can I do ?

Why should I not depart, having committed the care of my child to the ichneumon, whom I have so long cherished, and who is not distinguished from my own offspring? Having done so, he departed. Soon after which, the ichneumon seeing a black serpent near the child, killed him and cut him in pieces; and then seeing the Brahmen returning, went hastily, his mouth and paws being smeared with blood, and fell at the feet of his master; who seeing him in that condition, and saying to himself, He has devoured my child! stamped on him and killed him. Afterwards, going into his house, he saw his child asleep, and the dead snake lying by him; at looking, therefore, at the ichneumon, his benefactor, he was exceedingly afflicted. Hence, I say, he who knows not the cause and principles of actions, &c.

He is truly wise who considers another's wife as his mother, another's gold as mere clay, and all other creatures as himself.

You, said the king, are both eminently wise; advise me, therefore, what is to be done. What says the poet? said Duradursin.

Who would act unjustly for the sake of a body which either to-day or to-morrow may be destroyed by anxiety or disease?

The life of animals is tremulous, as the reflection of the moon in water: let him, then, who knows it to be uncertain, perform actions which will hereafter be beneficial to him.

Having seen this world, which perishes in an instant, resembling the vapour in a desert, let him seek the society of the virtuous, both for the sake of his religious duty, and of his own happiness. By my advice, therefore, let us practise these rules.

Since,

If truth be placed in a balance with a thousand sacrifices of horses, truth will outweigh a thousand sacrifices ;

Let both princes, having first sworn in the name of truth, conclude that sort of peace which is named Sangata. Be it so, said Servajrija.

A TURKISH ODE OF MESIHI.*

Hear how the nightingales, on every spray,
Hail in wild notes the sweet return of May !
The gale, that o'er yon waving almond blows,
The verdant bank with silver blossoms strews :
The smiling season decks each flowery glade.
Be gay : too soon the flowers of Spring will fade.

What gales of fragrance scent the vernal air !
Hills, dales, and woods, their loveliest mantles wear.
Who knows what cares await that fatal day,
When ruder gusts shall banish gentle May ?
Ev'n death, perhaps, our valleys will invade.
Be gay : too soon the flowers of Spring will fade.

The tulip now its varied hue displays,
And sheds, like Ahmed's eye, celestial rays.
Ah, nation ever faithful, ever true,
The joys of youth, while May invites, pursue !
Will not these notes your timorous minds persuade ?
Be gay : too soon the flowers of Spring will fade.

The sparkling dewdrops o'er the lilies play,
Like orient pearls, or like the beams of day.

* This ode is selected as a specimen of the Oriental metrical translations, being one of the most beautiful in poetry, and of the least offensive in expression ; though even here the sentiment is that favourite theme of unhallowed poetry, whether Oriental or Occidental, " Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

If love and mirth your wanton thoughts engage,
Attend, ye nymphs ! (a poet's words are sage),
While thus you sit beneath the trembling shade,
Be gay : too soon the flowers of Spring will fade.

The fresh-blown rose like Zeineb's cheek appears,
When pearls, like dewdrops, glitter in her ears.
The charms of youth at once are seen and past ;
And Nature says, " They are too sweet to last."
So blooms the rose, and so the blushing maid !
Be gay : too soon the flowers of Spring will fade.

See yon anemones their leaves unfold,
With rubies flaming and with living gold !
While crystal showers from weeping clouds descend,
Enjoy the presence of thy tuneful friend.
Now, while the wines are brought, the sofa's laid,
Be gay : too soon the flowers of Spring will fade.

The plants no more are dried, the meadows dead,
No more the rosebud hangs her pensive head :
The shrubs revive in valleys, meads, and bowers,
And every stalk is diadem'd with flowers ;
In silken robes each hillock stands array'd :
Be gay : too soon the flowers of Spring will fade.

Clear drops each morn impearl the rose's bloom,
And from its leaf the zephyr drinks perfume ;
The dewy buds expand their lucid store :
Be this our wealth ; ye damsels, ask no more.
Though wise men envy, and though fools upbraid,
Be gay : too soon the flowers of Spring will fade.

The dewdrops, sprinkled by the musky gale,
Are changed to essence ere they reach the dale :
The mild blue sky a rich pavilion spreads,
Without our labour, o'er our favour'd heads.
Let others toil in war, in arts, or trade,
Be gay : too soon the flowers of Spring will fade.

Late gloomy winters chill'd the sullen air,
Till Soliman arose, and all was fair.

Soft in his reign the notes of love resound,
 And pleasure's rosy cup goes freely round.
 Here on the bank, which mantling vines o'ershade,
 Be gay : too soon the flowers of Spring will fade.

May this rude lay from age to age remain,
 A true memorial of this lovely train.
 Come, charming maid, and hear thy poet sing,
 Thyself the rose, and he the bird of Spring ;
 Love bids him sing, and Love will be obey'd.
 Be gay : too soon the flowers of Spring will fade.

FROM THE MUSE RECALLED.*

While thou, by list'ning crowds approv'd,
 Lov'd by the Muse, and by the poet lov'd,
 Althorp, shouldst emulate the fame
 Of Roman patriots and th' Athenian name ;
 Shouldst charm with full persuasive eloquence,
 With all thy mother's* grace, and all thy father's sense,
 Th' applauding senate : whilst, above thy head,

Exulting Liberty should smile ;

Then, bidding dragon-born Contention cease,
 Should knit the dance with meek-ey'd Peace,
 And by thy voice impell'd, should spread

An universal joy around her cherish'd isle.

But, ah ! thy public virtues, youth, are vain,
 In this voluptuous, this abandon'd age,
 When Albion's sons with frantic rage,

In crimes alone and recreant baseness bold,
 Freedom and Concord, with their weeping train,
 Repudiate ; slaves of vice, and slaves of gold !

They, on starry pinions sailing

Through the crystal fields of air,

Mourn their efforts unavailing,

Lost persuasions, fruitless care :

* An ode on the nuptials of Lord Althorp (the late Earl Spencer),
 1781. The date explains the allusions to America.

† Georgiana Poyntz, Countess Spencer.

Truth, Justice, Reason, Valour with them fly,
To seek a purer soil, a more congenial sky.

Beyond the vast Atlantic deep,
A dome by viewless genii shall be raised,
The walls of adamant, compact and steep,
The portals with sky-tinctured gems emblazed :
There on a lofty throne shall Virtue stand ;
To her the youth of Delaware shall kneel ;
And when her smiles rain plenty o'er the land,
Bow, tyrants, bow beneath th'avenging steel !
Commerce, with fleets shall mock the waves,
And arts that flourish not with slaves.
Dancing, with ev'ry grace, and every muse,
Shall bid the valleys laugh, and heavenly beams diffuse.
She ceases, and a strange delight
Still vibrates on my ravish'd ear ;
What floods of glory drown my sight !
What scenes I view ! what sounds I hear !

This for my friend . . . but, gentle nymphs, no more
Dare I, with spells divine, the muse recall :
Then, fatal harp, thy transient rapture o'er,
Calm I replace thee on the sacred wall.
Ah, see how lifeless hangs the lyre,
Not light'ning now, but glitt'ring wire !
Me to the brawling bar and wrangles high
Bright-hair'd Sabrina calls, and rosy-bosom'd Wye.

AN ODE IN IMITATION OF ALCÆUS.

Οὐ λίθαι, οὐδὲ ξύλα, οὐδὲ
 Τέχνη τιπτόνων αἱ πόλις ἴσιν,
 'Αλλ' ὅπου ποτ' ἄν ᾤσιν ἌΝΑΡΕΞ
 Αὔσους σώζον ἰδόντες,
 Ἐνταῦθα τήχῃ καὶ πόλις.

ALC. quoted by ARISTIDES.

What constitutes a State?
 Not high-rais'd battlements, or labour'd mound,
 Thick wall, or moated gate;
 Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crown'd;
 Not bays and broad-arm'd ports,
 Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
 Not starr'd and spangled courts,
 Where low-brow'd baseness wafts perfume to pride.
 No :—Men, high-minded Men,
 With powers as far above dull brutes endued
 In forest, brake, or den,
 As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
 Men who their duties know,
 But know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain;
 Prevent the long-aim'd blow,
 And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain.
 These constitute a state,
 And sov'reign Law, that state's collected will,
 O'er thrones and globes elate
 Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill;
 Smit by her sacred frown,
 The fiend Dissension like a vapour sinks,
 And e'en the all-dazzling Crown
 Hides his faint rays, and at her bidding shrinks.
 Such was this heaven-lov'd isle,
 Than Lesbos fairer, and the Cretan shore!
 No more shall Freedom smile!
 Shall Britons languish, and be Men no more?
 Since all must life resign,
 Those sweet rewards, which decorate the brave,
 'Tis folly to decline,
 And steal inglorious to the silent grave.

THE END.

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